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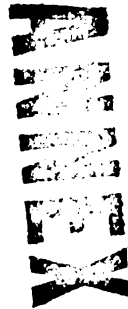
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THE
SERMONS

OF

THE RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD, AND CONSTANT
MARTYR OF JESUS CHRIST,

HUGH LATIMER,
SOME TIME BISHOP OF WORCESTER,

NOW FIRST ARRANGED ACCORDING TO THE ORDER OF TIME IN WHICH THEY WERE PREACHED, COLLATED BY THE
EARLY IMPRESSIONS, AND OCCASIONALLY ILLUSTRATED WITH NOTES, EXPLANATORY OF OBSOLETE
PHRASES, PARTICULAR CUSTOMS, AND HISTORICAL ALLUSIONS.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED

A MEMOIR OF THE BISHOP;

BY

JOHN WATKINS, LL.D.

Then they brought a fagot, kindled with fire, and laid the same down at Dr. Ridley's feet, to whom
Master Latimer spake in this manner: "BE OF GOOD CHEER, MASTER RIDLEY, AND PLAY THE MAN,
WE SHALL THIS DAY LIGHT SUCH A CANDLE BY GOD'S GRACE, IN ENGLAND, AS I TRUST SHALL NEVER
BE PUT OUT."—*For.*

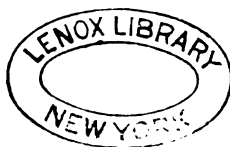
IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOLUME I.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR JAMES DUNCAN, PATERNOSTER-ROW.

MDCCCXXIV.

LONDON :
PRINTED BY WILLIAM CLOWES,
Northumberland-court.



TO THE
HONOURABLE AND RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,
SHUTE,
LORD BISHOP OF DURHAM,
THIS EDITION
OF
THE SERMONS
OF THAT
APOSTOLIC PRELATE AND FAITHFUL MARTYR OF JESUS CHRIST,
HUGH LATIMER,
IS,
WITH PERMISSION, MOST GRATEFULLY INSCRIBED,
BY HIS LORDSHIP'S
MUCH OBLIGED AND DEVOTED SERVANT,
JOHN WATKINS.

PREFACE.

It has been often observed, that in all the great changes that have affected the moral condition of mankind, instruments have been raised up endued with a spirit and talents adapted to the peculiar circumstances of the time and the sphere in which their services have been employed. This was remarkably the case in the wonderful revolution which occurred in the sixteenth century, when the stupendous fabric of papal domination, that had for so many ages kept mankind in awe and darkness, suffered a sudden disruption and let in, through the opened chasm, a flood of light upon the benighted world.

The agents engaged in producing this marvellous phænomenon were not such as human foresight would have selected, or human policy have employed in an undertaking of so momentous a nature, where the chances of success to all appearance were infinitely overbalanced by the probabilities of failure. Popery had been so long established and was so interwoven with all the civil institutions of Europe; it had taken such a firm hold upon the prejudices of the people, and was so artfully rendered subservient to the intrigues of princes, that the attempt to abridge its influence, or to check its powerful ascendancy, must have seemed preposterous to those who grovelled in

the dust before the footstool of a spiritual despot wearing a triple diadem, as the emblem of universal government.

The papal authority in a particular case having become a question, in the agitation of which new points arose, led many to examine the scriptures that they might be enabled to form a decisive conclusion respecting the matter in controversy; and thus in proportion as inquiry extended, the sacred oracles were found to contain truths to which men in general had for many ages been strangers. The doctrine of complete redemption by Christ now became directly opposed to the perplexed system of theology introduced by the schoolmen; and the pure foundation being once discovered, all the fallacies to which the church of Rome was indebted for her control over the consciences of men, began to be despised as wood, and straw and stubble. Simplicity took place of sophistry, and the truths of the gospel put to shame all the pageantries and follies of unsupported tradition. But it was not in the nature of things that such a shock to old opinions and usages which constituted the craft of a formidable hierarchy, should pass without a contest. It was therefore soon seen that if the reformers were armed with the word, they who remained intrenched in the citadel of superstition had the sword, of which they soon gave tremendous proofs. The dæmon of persecution was let loose, and the fires of persecution were lighted up in all those countries where the supremacy of the pope prevailed. To reduce minds by force was an assumed principle of right, and to punish those with death who

refused to submit to the decisions of the church was considered essential to the general interest. In the midst, however, of this conflict the cause of evangelical religion made a rapid progress, nor could the fear of death damp the ardour of the reformed preachers, who having themselves drank of the water of life felt the generous desire of making all around them partakers of the same blessing. Among these self-devoted and zealous promulgators of the gospel, none stood more conspicuous in this country, and none contributed more effectually to open men's minds to the delusions of popery than Hugh Latimer, both before and after his advancement to the bishopric of Worcester. This apostolic man by his commanding and familiar eloquence, became a popular favourite, and the well-known disinterestedness of his character made him generally respected for his zeal, as well as revered for his sanctity. His sermons however were so enlivened with strokes of caustic severity against the prevailing deformities in church and state, that the bigotted papists hated the preacher for his powers, while the ambitious courtiers dreaded him for his honesty. The discourses of Latimer, like those of Chrysostom, exhibit a faithful portraiture of the national manners, and though far enough from aiming at the higher qualifications of oratory, they have charms that gave them in the delivery a fascinating influence, of which even the lapse of near three centuries has not deprived them.

The first collection of his sermons was made by one Thomas Soame, who wrote down those that were

preached before king Edward the Sixth, which with some others were published in one volume not long afterwards. In 1562 John Day made a larger collection in one small quarto volume, to which Augustine Bernher, the bishop's faithful Swiss servant, and afterwards a minister, prefixed a long but highly interesting epistle dedicatory to the duchess of Suffolk. This edition has a wood cut of father Latimer preaching in the privy garden before the young king, who is represented with some of his courtiers looking out of a window in front, while the area below is filled with hearers of various descriptions. This print is also given in Fox's Acts and Monuments, which work also contains the bishop's two famous sermons on the Card. In 1584 another edition of Latimer's Sermons came out, with some additions, and in 1635 the whole were reprinted in a Roman letter, with a portrait of the bishop preaching, engraved by George Giffard. All these editions were in quarto; but in 1758 an octavo one was printed in two volumes, with a memoir of the martyr, and a number of prolix and for the most part impertinent notes, giving an account of scriptural characters and places mentioned in the text, while the obsolete phrases and peculiar allusions remained unelucidated, and what was still worse several passages were mutilated under the mistaken notion of giving the sense correctly in a modern dress.

It is presumed, therefore, that no apology, can be deemed necessary for republishing these valuable discourses at the present time when the expediency of re-

calling Protestants, particularly the members of the Church of England, to the fundamental grounds of the reformation, is called for by the increase of schism on the one hand, and the endeavours made on the other, to recommend popery. To use, therefore, the language of a great living ornament of religion and the Church of England upon this subject: "The zeal of both parties in support of their own system should teach us a lesson of diligence in our's. The zeal of the Romanist especially, should operate as a strong caution against indifference to the corruptions of their church. The indulgences granted to them of late years should not in our minds relax the force of those principles on which the Reformation was founded. We must not suffer our supineness to become an occasion of reproach to us, that the venerable fathers of the Reformed Church have sacrificed their lives in vain."*

One mean, and that perhaps the most desirable, of confirming Protestants in their faith, would be to revive the writings of those divines to whom, under divine providence, we owe in a great measure the establishment of the Reformation upon the principles and practice of the Primitive Church. In conjunction with the epistles and apologies of the early fathers, those valuable remains most of which are now so scarce as to be accessible to few, would furnish an effectual preservative from the evils of superstition and schism.

With this view the sermons of the venerable Latimer are now reprinted, carefully collated by the early

* Charge delivered by the bishop of Durham to his clergy in 1808, 4to.

editions, arranged according to the order of time in which they were preached, and occasionally illustrated with notes explanatory of archaisms in language, or of allusions to particular persons and customs not ordinarily known.

Of the biographical memoir prefixed, nothing more need be observed than that it has been carefully drawn for the most part from Fox, whose veracity, in spite of the abuse of popish writers, is indisputable. A recent effort, however, to depreciate the characters of the reformers, and that of Latimer in particular, has made it necessary to introduce a few remarks by way of repelling calumnies which would not have deserved notice had they not appeared in the imposing form of a History of England.

J. W.

London, April 26, 1824.

THE LIFE OF BISHOP LATIMER.

L I F E
OF
H U G H L A T I M E R,
BISHOP OF WORCESTER.

IN the catalogue of the noble army of martyrs who sealed with their blood the truths which they preached, in opposition to the tyranny of popery, the name of Latimer stand pre-eminent for godly zeal, extensive usefulness, and exemplary purity of heart and life.

This apostle of England*, as he hath been deservedly called, was the son of Hugh Latimer, of Thurcaster, in the county of Leicester, a farmer, or, as Fox calls him, a husbandman, “ of right good estimation.” The period of his birth, owing to the want of parochial and other registers, is involved in uncertainty; some of his biographers placing it in 1480, and others going even ten years earlier from the persuasion, as it should seem, that he was above fourscore at the time of his martyrdom. That this last date is incorrect we are assured from his own authority; for he was but a lad when the Cornish rebels marched up in 1497, to the vicinity of the metropolis. “ My father,” says Latimer, in one of his sermons at court, “ was a yeoman, and had no lands of his own, only he had a farm of three or four pound by year at the uttermost, and hereupon he tilled so much as kept half a dozen men. He had walk for an hundred sheep, and my mother milked thirty kine. He was able, and did find the king a harness, with himself and his horse,

* Hugoni Latimero quam passim vocabunt apostolorum Anglorum.—*Nich. Sanderus* de Schism. Anglic. p. 116.

what he said, and sometimes, by his own authority, drive them out of the school.

The same spirit animated him on taking his degree of bachelor in divinity, when he directed the whole of his discourse with great bitterness against Philip Melancthon, and his opinions.

Zeal like this could not fail to please the heads of the university, and they were not backward in marking it with their approbation. Latimer was accordingly appointed to carry the cross in all their public assemblies and solemn processions, an office which he felt as most honourable, and therefore discharged it with dignity and reverence.

But while, like Saul of Tarsus, he was exerting himself with more than ordinary activity in endeavouring to keep down the rising spirit of inquiry, which he and his superiors called heresy, the more the light became diffused even in the university; and at length this honest zealot proved the main instrument in promoting that very cause which he had before persecuted.

When this change in Latimer's sentiments and conduct took place cannot be exactly ascertained, but it was not long after the flaming oration which he delivered on taking the degree of bachelor in divinity. Among his hearers on that occasion was Thomas Bilney, bachelor of the canon and civil law; a man of considerable learning, great piety, and as zealous for the reformation as Latimer was against it. Bilney, however, had the advantage of scriptural knowledge, in which Latimer was comparatively ignorant; and as that learning was sanctified and animated by Christian charity, it made the possessor feel pity for one whose zeal only wanted a right direction to become the powerful means of propagating truth, instead of blindly upholding superstition. Bilney perceived the honesty of Latimer's intentions, and therefore made every allowance for the warmth of his language. Some hot-headed men would have challenged the orator to a public disputation, or assailed him in private with ridicule and abuse, for meddling with subjects which he had not studied. But Bilney took a wiser course; he sought an interview with Latimer at his own

rooms, and solemnly intreated him to hear his confession. This was complied with, and the declaration which Bilney made of his faith, produced such an impression upon the mind of Latimer, that to use his own language, "from that time forward, he began to smell the word of God, and to forsake the school doctors and such fooleries."

One hardly knows which to admire most, the humility of Bilney in submitting his opinions to the judgment of Latimer, or the candid spirit with which the confession was received, and the promptness manifested to acknowledge the conviction it had produced. To appreciate the conduct of Latimer at its proper value, it is requisite that his age and situation should be considered. He was certainly now advanced at that period of life when men adopt new doctrines with slow hesitation, and cannot be induced to give up old prejudices easily. On looking around him he saw the most learned and venerable men of the age, stedfastly attached to a system, not only long established, but considered as so sacred that the denial of any part of it was to incur the risk of eternal perdition. In opposition to the great authorities, living and dead, by which the tenets of the church of Rome were supported, stood at that time only a few persons of so little eminence in the world, that their very names had not been known above six or seven years at the most. The scriptures to which the reformers referred were little studied, and if read at all, it was in subservience to the decisions of the church, and with the expositions of the scholastic divines, whose judgment on all questions of obscurity was held conclusive. Under such circumstances it was no light matter for Latimer to choose between that which had the stamp of antiquity and things which to appearance were the discoveries of yesterday. Besides all this, the reputation he had acquired, and the rank he held in the university, could hardly fail to have some weight upon his mind at this important crisis. He had distinguished himself beyond most of his contemporaries in defending the existing superstitions, and opposing those persons who were for reforming the church. On this account he had gained great credit, and stood high in the estimation of those who had it in their power to promote

his interest. Were he, therefore, now to preach up what he had hitherto decried, and associate with the very men whose company he had carefully avoided, the consequence he knew would be the loss of his popularity, and of all hopes of preferment. Latimer, however, had more integrity than to suffer any worldly considerations to interpose between him and his duty. On being convinced by the reasoning of Bilney that he had pursued a wrong course of study, he resolved to make up for it by a close application to the new testament; and one of the first proofs he gave of his sincerity was, that of attending the lectures of Stafford, and asking his pardon for having treated him so disrespectfully. Such a revolution as this could not long pass unnoticed, especially as Latimer was now observed to leave off in his preaching all reflections upon the new learning and its abettors. Both his Latin sermons, addressed to the university, and those which he preached to the people in English, were now serious, scriptural and persuasive exhortations to a sound faith and a holy life. This deviation from his former practice brought him under the suspicion of having imbibed the new opinions, which idea was farther strengthened by his intimate connexion with Bilney, insomuch that the retired spot in the neighbourhood of Cambridge, where the two friends were wont to hold their private conferences, obtained the name of the Hereticks' Hill. They did not, however, confine their religious knowledge to themselves, or treasure up, for their own edification, the discoveries which they had made in the word of wisdom. True piety is of a communicative nature, and a living faith is manifested in those works of love which bring glory to God, by doing good to the souls of men. Bilney had this divine spirit to the noblest extent, and instead of seeking his own honour by wrangling disputations, he took a delight in comforting the sick, and instructing the prisoner. Latimer caught a portion of the same heavenly flame of charity, and this benevolent exercise, while it proved beneficial to the poor and the outcast, had the effect of invigorating and expanding the spiritual powers of those who were so nobly employed. Latimer had much to unlearn, as well as to attain, and no

method was better calculated for his improvement in grace, than the lowly course which, in conjunction with Bilney he now pursued, since hereby he had ample opportunities of studying the human heart, in all its varieties, and of gauging misery in all its forms. Thus he became convinced more and more of the utter inefficacy of outward formularies, and superstitious practices, to console the broken spirit, to awaken the conscience, or to produce that repentance which is the prerequisite to the knowledge of eternal life.

This change, and the consequences which flowed from it, alarmed the heads of the university so much, that complaints were forwarded to Wolsey, who appointed a tribunal for an examination of Bilney, and, if we are to credit Fox, of Latimer also. This was in 1527, and Tostall, bishop of London, a man of mild character, laboured so effectually with Bilney as to prevail upon him to make a public abjuration; but as no censure was passed upon Latimer, there is reason to think that he was not included in the accusation, and that the account of the martyrologist, as far as relates to him is erroneous.

Bilney, on his return to Cambridge, never recovered the wound which this recantation had inflicted upon his conscience. He fell into such a dreadful state of melancholy and desperation, that for the space of twelve months his friends durst not leave him alone, but continued with him day and night, comforting him as they could, but no comforts would serve: and "as for the consolatory places of scripture, to bring them unto him, it was as though a man would run him through the heart with a sword." At length the horrible cloud began to disperse, and the word which gave him relief seemed to point out also the line that he was to follow. This was the passage in Isaiah: "Fear not, for I have redeemed thee, thou art mine. When thou walkest in the fire it shall not burn thee: I am the Lord thy God." Accordingly, thus renewed and armed with faith, he went into his native county of Norfolk, where he preached with a freedom and success that soon brought upon him the arm of vengeance. Richard Nix, the bishop of Norwich, a man of bitter spirit caused him to be apprehended, and on the 31st of August, 1531, this excellent divine suffered at the stake in that city.

To return to Latimer, of whom Fox relates the following curious anecdotes. About Christmas, 1529, an Augustine friar inveighed against him, on account of some sermons recently preached by him, in which, alluding to the custom of the season, he gave the people certain cards out of the fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters of St. Matthew, whereupon they might not only then, but always occupy their time. For the chief triumph or trump, in the cards he limited the heart, as the principal thing that they should serve God withal ; whereby he quite overthrew all hypocritical and external ceremonies, not tending to the furtherance of " God's holy word and sacraments." This kind of preaching was highly agreeable not only to the people at large, but even to the members of the university. One thing observable in Latimer, and that which furnished a complete excuse for his adopting this whimsical mode of instruction, is the use made by him of the figures and customs which he chose to illustrate his subject. Card playing at Christmas was so common that to have preached against the usage would only have created violent prejudices in the minds of the hearers. Latimer, therefore, instead of attacking the fashion, endeavoured to render it subservient to moral and religious instruction. He fixed the attention of the audience by talking to them in a style with which they were familiar, and he drew his comparisons from topics of amusement, that he might impress upon their minds a few solemn truths easy of remembrance, and most suitable to a season of mirth and festivity.

The completest justification of Latimer, however, is found in the provocation which his preaching gave to the Romish zealots ; who were not so much displeased with the figurative language which he adopted as with the use that he made of it. They could not endure that the people should be made acquainted with the gospel, and therefore one Dr. Buckingham, prior of the Black Friars, undertook to confute Latimer from the same pulpit, and in the same mode of illustration, by bringing out his Christmas dice, and casting to his audience cinque and quater ; meaning by the cinque five places in the New Testament, and the four doctors by the quater ; by which cinque quater he would prove that it was not expedient the scripture should be in

English, lest the ignorant and vulgar sort might haply be brought to leave their vocation, or run into some inconvenience. Thus, said he, for example, the ploughman when he heareth this in the gospel, "No man that layeth his hand on the plough, and looketh back, is meet for the kingdom of God," might, peradventure upon this, cease from his plough: likewise the baker, when he heareth "that a little leaven corrupteth a whole lump of dough," may perchance leave our bread unleavened, and so our bodies shall be unseasoned. Also the simple man, when he heareth in the gospel, "If thine eye offend thee pluck it out and cast it from thee," may make himself blind, and so the world will be full of beggars."

Latimer heard this sermon, and engaged to answer the arguments, which he did from the same pulpit in the afternoon, Buckingham sitting opposite to him with his black friar's cowl about his shoulders. After discoursing of the mystical speeches and figurative phrases of scripture, our preacher said that such metaphors were common and well understood in all languages. "As for example," observed he, looking towards the place where the prior sat, "when the painters represent a fox preaching out of a friar's cowl, no one is so weak as to take this for a real fox, but only as a figure of caution to beware of that hypocrisy, craft, and dissimulation, which lieth hid many times in these cowls." This application put Buckingham so much out of countenance, that he never ventured to encounter Latimer again; but another antagonist, about the same time, entered the lists against him with a greater display of learning than Buckingham had shewn, and therefore more deserving of a serious reply. This was a gray friar named Venetus, a foreigner, and apparently an Italian, whose discourse Latimer answered in a manner worthy of a scholar, and with such effect that as by his raillery he had shut up the prior in his monastery, so now by his reasoning he drove Venetus from the university. But these triumphs, if they added to the number of his admirers, increased also the malice of his enemies. The principal of these was West, bishop of Ely, who, hearing of the fame of Latimer, came secretly and suddenly into St. Mary's Church on purpose to judge of his preaching.

Latimer was then in his sermon, but paused till the bishop was seated, and then said, "It is of congruence meet that a new auditory being more honourable, requireth a new theme, being a new argument to intreat of. Therefore it behoveth me now to deviate from mine intended purpose, and somewhat to intreat of the honourable estate of a bishop. Therefore let this be the theme, '*Christus existens pontifex futurorum bonorum, &c.*'" This text, says a contemporary, he so fruitfully handled, expounding every word, and setting forth the office of Christ so sincerely as the true and perfect pattern unto all other bishops that should succeed him in his church, that the bishop then present might well think of himself, that neither he nor any of his fellows were of that race, but rather of the fellowship of Caiaphas and Annas.

This, notwithstanding, the bishop being a very wise and politic man, after the sermon, said, "Mr. Latimer, I heartily thank you for your good sermon, assuring you that, if you will do one thing at my request, I will kneel down and kiss your foot, for the good admonition that I have received of your sermon, assuring you that I never heard mine office so well and substantially declared before this time." "What is your lordship's pleasure that I should do for you?" quoth Mr. Latimer. "Marry," quoth the bishop, "that you will preach me in this place one sermon against Martin Luther and his doctrine." Said then Mr. Latimer again, "My lord, I am not acquainted with the doctrine of Luther, nor are we permitted here to read his works; and, therefore, it were but a vain thing for me to refute his doctrine, not understanding what he hath written, nor what opinions he holdeth. Sure, I am, that I have preached before you this day no MAN'S doctrine, but only the doctrine of God out of the scriptures. And if Luther do none otherwise than I have done, there needeth no confutation of his doctrine. Otherwise, when I understand he doth teach against the scripture, I will be ready with all my heart to confound his doctrine as much as lieth in me." "Well, well, Mr. Latimer," said the bishop, "I perceive that you somewhat smell of the pan: you will repent this gear one day,"—and so the bishop never a whit amended by the ser-

mon, practised with Latimer's foes from that day forwards to put him to silence*.

Another person of eminence, who took a dislike to Latimer on account of his honest zeal and scriptural preaching, was Dr. John Redman, then of St. John's College, but afterwards master of Trinity. He was a man of great learning and liberality, but somewhat timid ; and though inclined to a reform, yet fearful of giving offence to those who were in authority. Redman wrote to Latimer a letter in Latin, beseeching him not to prefer his own singular judgment in matters of religion and controversy before so many learned men and the whole Catholic church. Fox gives what he calls a summary in English of this epistle, which, if correct, deserved the laconic answer that Latimer returned to it as follows :

“ Reverend M. Redman, it is even enough for me that Christ's sheep hear no man's voice but Christ's ; and as for you, you have no voice of Christ against me ; where, as for my part, I have a heart that is ready to hearken to any voice of Christ that you can bring me. Thus fare you well, and trouble me no more from the talking with the Lord my God.”

This shews the spirit of Latimer ; and of his humour we have an instance related incidentally indeed by one of his bitterest enemies. Bishop Bonner, in the process of his examination of the martyr Philpot, said, “ The varlet Latimer, at Cambridge, when the vice-chancellor sent for him, intending to have excommunicated him for some of his heresies, and was coming to his chamber, he hearing of his approach made answer that he was sick of the plague, and so deluded the chancellor.” This was an ingenious device to get rid of a troublesome visitor, and it was a justifiable piece of wit, for by the plague no doubt Latimer meant heresy.

At length, however, bishop West, who had not forgotten the sermon which he had heard, proceeded to silence the preacher ; but as the monastery of Austin friars at Cambridge was exempt from episcopal jurisdiction, and the

* Strype's Eccles. Mem. 111, p. 233.

prior, Dr. Barnes, happened to favour the reformed doctrines, Latimer was suffered to exercise his ministry there in defiance of the interdict. This provoked the bishop and the leading men of the university to such a degree, that a catalogue of complaints was drawn up by them, and exhibited to cardinal Wolsey against Latimer as a sower of discord and false doctrine. The cardinal, who, with all his faults, was no bigot, resolved to hear what this celebrated preacher had to say for himself. Accordingly Latimer was sent for to York Place, and after waiting some time he was called into the presence of the minister, with whom sat two doctors of Cambridge. When he entered the room, the cardinal said, "Is your name Latimer?" "Yea, forsooth," answered Latimer. "You seem," quoth the cardinal, "to be of good years, and no babe, but one that should wisely and soberly use yourself in all your doings. And yet it is reported to me, that you are much infected with this new fantastical doctrine of Luther, and such like heretics; and that you do very much harm among the youth, and other light heads, with your doctrine." Said Mr. Latimer again, "Your Grace is misinformed; for I ought to have some more knowledge than to be so simply reported of; by reason that I have studied, in my time, both the ancient doctors of the church, and also the school doctors." "Marry, that is well said," quoth the cardinal, "I am glad to hear that of you; and, therefore, you Mr. Doctor Capon, and you Mr. Doctor Marshall, say you somewhat to Mr. Latimer, touching some question in Duns." Whereupon Dr. Capon propounded a question to Latimer, who being then fresh of memory, and not discontinued from study, as the two doctors had been, answered very roundly; sometimes helping them to cite their own allegations rightly, where they failed themselves in doing so. The cardinal perceiving the ripe and ready answers of Latimer, said, "What mean you, my masters, to bring such a man before me into accusation? I thought he had been some light headed fellow, that never studied such kind of doctrine as the school authors are. I pray thee, Latimer, tell me the cause, why the bishop of Ely, and others, do mislike thy preachings. Tell me the truth, and I will bear

with thee upon amendment." Quoth Latimer, "Your Grace must understand, that the bishop of Ely cannot favour me, for that not long ago I preached before him, in Cambridge, a sermon on this text, *Christus existens pontifex*, wherein I described the office of a bishop so uprightly as I might, according to the text, that never after he could abide me; but hath not only forbidden me to preach in his diocese, but also found the means to inhibit me from preaching in the university." "I pray you tell me," quoth the cardinal, "what time didst thou preach before him from that text?" Mr. Latimer plainly and simply declared unto the cardinal the whole effect of his sermon preached before the bishop of Ely. The cardinal, nothing at all misliking the doctrine of the word of God that Latimer had preached, said unto him, "Did you not preach any other doctrine than you have rehearsed?" "No, surely," said Latimer. And examining thoroughly with the doctors, what else would be objected against him, the cardinal said unto Mr. Latimer, "If the bishop of Ely cannot abide such doctrine as you have here repeated, you shall have my licence, and shall preach it unto his beard, let him say what he will." Then, after a gentle monition given unto Mr. Latimer, the cardinal discharged him, with his licence, home, to preach throughout England*."

Thus, the malice of his adversaries was turned to good, for Latimer being now armed with an authority which could not be called in question, went on preaching the word of God unreservedly, to the conversion and edification of multitudes.

But now the good man was to shine in a new sphere. The affair that most engaged the mind of Henry VIII., at this time, was the legality of his marriage with Catherine of Arragon, the widow of his brother Arthur. Into the motives of the king for endeavouring to dissolve an union that had been productive of issue, it is not necessary to enter. He solicited a divorce, and would have obtained it from the pope, had it not been for the interest of the emperor Charles V., who, as the queen's nephew,

* Strype, ut supra, p. 231.

thought, and justly enough, that honour required it of him to stand forward as her protector. Between two such potent monarchs the sovereign pontiff found himself in a state of embarrassment, and he endeavoured, by delay, to avoid giving offence to either side. This, however, did not suit the views of the impatient Henry, who began now to think less respectfully of the papal authority than he had been accustomed to do. A jest, sometimes, has an effect which grave argument cannot accomplish. While the king was disturbed and provoked by the dilatory proceedings of the court of Rome, Sir Thomas Wyatt, a man of wit, took the liberty of saying, one day, in the royal presence, "Lord ! what a thing is this that a man can't repent of his sin without the pope's leave !"

Henry was struck with the remark, and from that moment his thoughts were turned to the abolition of the papal supremacy. Among the persons who enjoyed much of his private confidence, was Dr. William Butts, the physician, a man of great merit, and a favourer of the reformation. Being a member of the university of Cambridge, he was deemed a fit person to go thither, for the purpose of bringing over some of the most popular divines there to further the king's designs. The doctor, on hearing Latimer, was so pleased, that he invited him to court, where he introduced him to the king, before whom he was appointed to preach, in the Lent season of 1530. His majesty, who, with all his faults, loved honesty and plain dealing, was much struck with the apostolical freedom of Latimer, and he expressed his satisfaction in a very remarkable manner. There happened to be present, on that occasion, the vice-chancellor of Cambridge, who being a known enemy to Latimer, was, in all probability, then exerting himself to bring this heretical preacher into disgrace. Thus much, however, is certain, that the king was well acquainted with the vice-chancellor's sentiments in regard to Latimer, and took a pleasure in mortifying that officer, who, in a letter written to the master of St. Peter's College, gave an account of the treatment he had received. "Dominica Secunda, in the afternoone, I came to Wyndsor, and also to part of Mr. Latymer's sermon, and after the end of the same, I

spake with Mr. Secretary. But, by-and-by, the king greatly praised Mr. Latimer's sermon, and, in so praising, said in this wise, 'This displeaseth greatly Mr. vice-chancellor, yonder. Yon same,' said he unto the duke of Norfolk, 'is Mr. vice-chancellor of Cambridge,' and so pointed unto me *."

While Latimer was thus distinguished at court. Archbishop Warham convened an assembly at Lambeth, for the purpose of examining certain books written by Tyndal, Frith, and other protestants; but the principal object of the meeting was to put down the translation of the scriptures, as being unnecessary for Christian men, who, it was said, might profit equally well by hearing their duty from the mouth of the preacher.

As Latimer was present at this meeting, it has been inferred that he was not then satisfied with the expediency of allowing the bible to be read in the vulgar tongue. That conclusion, however, is not warranted by the mere circumstance of his name being inserted in the minutes, where he is only stated to have been present when those proceedings took place. The whole business was indeed nothing better than a political artifice, to furnish some pretext for the royal proclamation, which soon afterwards came out, interdicting heretical books, and including among them the translation of the new testament. Upon this Latimer, who never made a compromise with his conscience, and who well knew what a deception had been practised upon the king, addressed him in the following letter, which, for vigour of language and sincerity of intention, has been rarely equalled, and was never surpassed:—

"To the most mighty prince, King of England, Henry the Eighth, grace, mercy, and peace, from God the Father and our Lord Jesus Christ. The holy doctour Saint Augustine, in an epistle which he wrote to Casulanus sayth that he, which for feare of any power hideth the truth, provoketh the wrath of God to come upon him: for he feareth men more than God. And according to the same, the holy man, Saint John Chrysostome, sayth, that hee is

* Bishop Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. iii.

not alonely a traytor to the truth, which openly for truth, teacheth a lie, but he also which doth not truly pronounce and shewe the truth that he knoweth. These sentences (most redoubted king) when I read now of late, and marked them earnestly in the inward parts of mine heart, they made me sore afraid, troubled and vexed mee grievously in my conscience, and at the last drove me to this streyt, that either I must shewe forth such things as I have read and learned in scripture, or els to be of that sort that provoke the wrath of God upon them, and be traytors unto the trueth: the which thing than it should happen, I had rather suffer extreame punishment.

“ For what other thing is it to be a traytour unto the trueth, than to be a traytour and a Judas unto Christ, which is the very truth and cause of all truth? the which saith that ‘ whosoever denyeth him here before men, he will deny him before his father in heaven.’ The which denying ought more to be feared and dreaded, than the loss of all temporal goods, honour, promotion, fame, prison, slander, hurts, banishments, and all manner of torments and cruelties, yea and death itself, be it never so shameful and painful. But, alas, how little do men regard those sharp sayings of these two holy men? and how little do they feare the terrible judgement of Almighty God? and speciallie they which boast themselves to be guides and captaines unto other, and challenging unto themselves the knowledge of holy scripture, yet will neither shewe the truth themselves (as they be bound) neither suffer them that would: so that unto them may be said that which our Saviour Christ said to the Pharisees (Matth. xxiii), ‘ wo be it unto you Scribes and Pharisees, which shut up the kingdom of heaven before men, and neither will you enter in yourselves, neither suffer them that would, to enter in.’ And they will as much as in them lyeth, debar, not onely the word of God, which David calleth ‘ a light to direct and shew every man how to order his affections and lusts,’ according to the commandments of God; but also by their subtle wyliness, they instruct, move, and provoke, in a manner, all kings in Christendom, to ayde, succoure, and help them in this their mischief; and especiallie in this

your realme, they have sore blinded your liege people, and subjects with their lawes, customes, ceremonies, and Banbery gloses ; and punished them with cursings, excommunications, and other corruptions (corrections I would say) and now at the last when they see that they cannot prevail against the open truth (which the more it is persecuted, the more increaseth by their tyrannie) they have made it treason to your noble Grace to have the scripture in English.

“ Here I beseech your Grace to pardon me awhile, and patiently to heare me a word or two ; yea, and though it bee so that as concerning your high majesty and regall power, whereunto Almighty God hath called your Grace, there is as great difference betweene you and me, as betweene God and man. For you be here to me and to all your subjects in God's stead, to defend, aide and succour us in our right; and so I should tremble and quake to speake to your Grace. But againe, as concerning that you be a mortall man, in daunger of sinne, having in you the corrupt nature of Adam, in the which all we be both conceived and born, so have you no less need of the merits of Christ's passion for your salvation, than I and other of your subjects have, which be all members of the mysticall body of Christ. And though you be an higher member, yet you must not disdain the lesser. For as Saint Paul sayeth ; ‘ Those members that be taken most vilest, and had in least reputation, be as necessary as the other, for the preservation and keeping of the body.’

“ This, most gracious king, when I considered, and also your favourable and gentle nature, I was bold to write this rude, homely, and simple letter unto your Grace, trusting that you will accept my true and faithfull minde, even as it is.

“ First, and before all things, I will exhort your Grace to mark the life and processe of our Saviour Christ and his Apostles in preaching and setting forth of the gospel ; and to note also the words of our master Christ, which he had to his disciples, when he sent them forth to preach his gospel ; and to these have ever in your minde, the golden rule of our master Christ ; ‘ The tree is knowne by the fruite.’ For by the diligent marking of these, your Grace

shall clearly knowe and perceive who be the true followers of Christ, and teachers of his gospel, and who be not.

“ And concerning the first ; all scripture sheweth plainly that our Saviour Jesus Christes life was very poore. Begin at his birth, and I beseech you, who ever heard of a poorer or so poor as he was ?

“ It were too long to write how poor Joseph and the blessed Virgin Mary took their journey from Nazareth toward Bethlem, in the colde and frostie winter, having nobody to wait upon them, but he both master and man, and she both mistress and maide. How vilely thinks your Grace, were they intreated in the innes and lodgings by the way ? and in how vile and abject place was this poore maide, the mother of our Saviour Jesus Christ brought to bed in, without company, light, or any other thing necessary for a woman in that plight ? was not here a poore beginning, as concerning the world ? Yes truelie. And according to this beginning, was the processe and end of his life in this world ; and yet he might by his godly power have had all the goods and treasures of this world at his pleasure, when and where he would. But this he did to shewe us that his followers and vicars should not regard nor set by the riches and treasures of this world ; but after the saying of David we ought to take them, which saith thus ; ‘ If riches, promotions, and dignitie happen to a man, let him not set his affiance, pleasure, trust, and heart upon them.’ So that it is not against the povertie in spirit which Christ praiseth in the gospel of Saint Matthew, chapter v. to be rich, to be in dignitie, and in honour, so that their hearts be not fixed and set upon them so much, that they neither care for God nor good men. But they be enemies to this povertie in spirit, have they never so little, that have greedie and desirous mindes to the goods of this world, onely because they would live after their own pleasure and lusts. And they also be privy enemies (and so much the worse) which have professed, as they say, wilfull povertie, and will not be called worldly men, and they have lords’ lands and king’s riches ; yea, rather than they would lose one jot of that which they have, they will set debate

between king and king, realme and realme, yea between the king and his subjects, and cause rebellion against the temporal power, to the which our Saviour Christ himself obeyed and paid tribute, as the gospel declareth ; unto whom the holy Apostle St. Paul teacheth every Christian man to obey. Yea, and beside all this, they will curse and ban, as much as in them lieth, even into the deep pit of hell, all that gainsay their appetite, whereby they think their goods, promotions, or dignities should decay.

“ Your Grace may see what means and craft the spiritualitie (as they will be called) imagine to breake and withstand the acts* which were made in your Grace's last parliament against their superfluities. Wherefore they that thus do, your Grace may know them not to be true followers of Christ. And although I named the spirituality to be corrupt with this unthrifty ambition ; yet I mean not all to be faulty therein, for there be some good of them. Neither will I that your Grace should take away the goods due to the church, but take away all evil persons from the goods, and set better in their stead. I name nor appoint no person, nor persons, but remit your Grace to the rule of our Saviour Christ, as in Matthew the 7th chapter ; ‘ by their fruites ye shall know them.’

“ As touching the words that our Saviour Christ spake to his disciples when he sent them to preach his gospel, they be read in Matthew the 15th chapter, where he sheweth that ‘ here they shall be hated and despised of all men worldly, and brought before kings and rulers ; and that all evil should be said by them, for their preaching sake ;’ but he exhorteth them to take patiently such persecution by his own example, saying, ‘ It becometh not the servant to be above the master. And seeing they called me Belzebub, what marvel is it, if they call you devilish persons and hereticks ?’ Read the 14th chapter of St. Matthew's gospel, and there your Grace shall see that he promised to the true preachers no worldly promotions or dignitie, but persecution and all kinds of punishment, and that they should be betrayed even by their own brethren and chil-

* These were acts made against exactions for probates of wills, for regulating mortuaries, and against pluralities and non residence.

dren. In John, also, he saith ; ‘ In the world ye shall have oppression, and the world shall hate you ; but in me you shall have peace.’ And in the 10th chapter of St. Matthew’s gospel, saith our Saviour Christ also ; ‘ Lo, I send you forth as sheepe among wolves.’ So that the true preachers go like sheepe harmlesse, and be persecuted, and yet they revenge not their wrong, but remit all to God : so far is it off that they will persecute any other, but with the word of God, only, which is their weapon. And so this is the most evident token that our Saviour Jesus Christ would that his gospel and the preachers of it should be knowne by, that it should be despised among these worldly wise men, and that they should repute it but foolishness and deceivable doctrine, and the true preachers should be persecuted and hated, and driven from town to town, yea and at the last lose both goods and life.

“ And yet they that did this persecution, should think that they did well, and a great pleasure to God. And the apostles remembering this lesson of our Saviour Christ, were content to suffer such persecutions as you may read in the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles. But we never read that they ever persecuted any man. The holy apostle St. Paul saith ; ‘ that every man that will live godly in Christ Jesus, should suffer persecution.’ And also he saith further in the epistle written to the Philippians in the first chapter, ‘ that it is not only given to you to believe in the Lord, but also to suffer persecution for his sake.’

“ Wherefore take this for a sure conclusion, that therē, where the word of God is truly preached, there is persecution, as well of the hearers as of the teachers : and where as is quietness and rest in worldly pleasure, there is not the truth. For the world loveth all that are of the world, and hateth all things that are contrary to it. And to be short, St. Paul calleth the gospel the word of the cross, the word of punishment. And the holy scripture doth promise nothing to the favours and followers of it in this world, but trouble, vexation, and persecution, which these worldly men cannot suffer, nor away withall.

“ Therefore pleaseth it your good Grace, to return to this golden rule of our master and Saviour Jesus Christ, which

is this, ‘ By their fruites ye shall know them.’ For where you see persecution, there is the gospel, and there is the truth ; and they that do persecute, be voide and without all truth ; not caring for the clear light which (as our Saviour Jesus Christ saith in the third chapter of St. John’s gospel) ‘ is come into the world, and which shall utter and shew forth every man’s works.’ And they, whose works be naught, dare not come to this light, but go about to stop it and hinder it, letting as much as they may, that the holy scripture should not be read in our mother tongue, saying that it would cause heresy and insurrection, and so they perswade, at the least way they would fain perswade your Grace to keep it back. But here mark their shameless boldness, which be not ashamed contrary to Christes doctrine, to gather figges of thornes, and grapes of bushes, and to call light darknesse, and darknesse light, sweete sowre, and sowre sweete, good evill, and evill good, and to say, that that which teacheth all obedience, should cause dissention and strife. But such is their wilie wisdom: therewith they judge and measure every thing, to hold and keep still this wicked mammon, the goods of this world, which is their God, and hath so blinded the eyes of their hearts, that they cannot see the cleare light of the sacred scripture, though they babble never so much of it.

“ But as concerning this matter, other men have shewed your Grace their mindes, how necessary it is to have the scriptures in English. The which thing also your Grace hath promised by your last proclamation: the which promise I pray God that your gracious highnesse may shortly perform, even to-day before to-morrow. Nor let not the wickednesse of these worldly men detain you from your godly purpose and promise. Remember the subtle worldly wise counsellors of Hammon the son of Naas, king of the Ammonites which, when David had sent his servants to comfort the young king, for the death of his father, by crafty imaginations counselled Hammon, not alonely not to receive them gently, but to intreat them most shamefully and cruelly, saying, ‘ that they came not to comfort him, but to espy and search his land, so that afterward they bringing David word how every thing stood, David might

come and conquer it.' And they caused the young king to sheare their head, and to cut their coates by the points, and sent them away like fooles: whom he ought rather to have made much of, and to have intreated them gently, and have given great thanks and rewards. O wretched counsellors! But see what followed of this carnall and worldly wisdom. Truly nothing but destruction of all the whole realme, and also of all them which took their partes.

" Therefore, good king, seeing that the right David, that is to say, our Saviour Christ, hath sent his servants, that is to say, his true preachers, and his owne word also to comfort our weak and sick soules, let not these worldly men make your Grace believe that they will cause insurrections and heresies, and such mischiefes as they imagine of their owne mad braines, least that he be avenged upon you and your realme, as was David upon the Ammonites, and as he hath ever been avenged upon them which have obstinately withstood and gainesaid his word.

" But peradventure they will lay this against me, and say that experience doth shew, how that such men as call themselves followers of the gospel, regardeth not your Grace's commandement, neither set by your proclamation, and that was well proved by those persons which of late were punished in London for keeping of such bookes as your Grace had prohibited by proclamation: and so like as they regarded not this, so they will not regard or esteeme other your Grace's lawes, statutes and ordinances. But this is but a crafty perswasion. For your Grace knoweth that there is no man living, specially that loveth worldly promotion, that is so foolish to set forth, promote, or inhaunce his enemy, whereby he should be let of his worldly pleasures and fleshly desires: but rather he will seeke all the ways possible that he can, utterly to confound, destroy, and put him out of the way. And so as concerning your last proclamation, prohibiting such bookes, the very true cause of it, and chief counsellors (as men say, and of likelihoode it should be) were they whose evill living and cloked hypocrisy these bookes uttered and disclosed. And howbeit that there were three or four that would have had the scripture to go forth in English, yet it happened there, as it is ever-

more seene, that the most part overcometh the better ; and so it might be that these men did not take this proclamation as yours, but as theirs set forth in your name, as they have done many times more, which hath put this your realme in great hinderance and trouble, and brought it in great penury, and more would have done if God had not mercifully provided to bring your Grace to knowledge of the falsehood and privy treason which their head and captain was about* : and be ye sure not without adherents, if the matter be only searched. For what marvel is it, that they being so nigh of your counsell, and so familiar with your lordes, should provoke both your Grace and them to prohibite these bookes, which before by their owne authority have forbidden the New Testament under pain of everlasting damnation : for such is their manner, to send a thousand men to hell, ere they send one to God : and yet the new testament (and so I think by the other) was meekly offered to every man that would and could, to amend it, if there were any fault. Moreover, I will ask them the cause of all insurrections, which have been in this realme heretofore. And whence is it, that there be so many extortioners, bribers, murtherers, and thieves, which daily do not breake onely your Grace's lawes, ordinances, and statutes, but also the lawes and commandements of Almighty God : I thinke they will not say these bookes, but rather their pardons which causeth many a man to sinne in trust of them. For as for those malefactors which I now rehearsed, you shall not find one amongst a hundred, but that he will cry out both of these bookes, and also of them that have them, yea and will be glad to spend the good which he hath wrongfully gotten upon fagots to burn both the bookes and them that have them.

“ And as touching these men that were lately punished for these bookes, there is no man, I heare say, that can lay any word or deed against them that should sound to the breaking of any of your Grace's laws, this only except, if it be yours, and not rather theirs. And be it so that there be some that have these bookes, that be evill, unruly, and

* Latimer is supposed here to have meant Cardinal Wolsey.

self-willed persons, not regarding God's lawes nor man's, yet these bookes be not the cause thereof no more than was the bodily presence of Christ, and his words the cause that Judas fell, but their own froward minde, and carnall wit, which should be amended by the virtuous example of living of their curates, and by the true exposition of the scripture. If the lay people had such curates that would thus do their office, these bookes nor the devill himself could not hurt them, nor make them to go out of frame ; so that the lacke of good curates is the destruction and cause of all mischiefe. Neither do I write these things because that I will either excuse these men lately punished, or to affirme all to be true written in these bookes, which I have not all read, but to shew that there cannot such inconvenience follow of them, and specially of the scripture, as they would make men believe should follow.

“ And though it be so that your Grace may by other bookes, and, namely, by the scripture itselfe, know and perceive the hypocrite wolves, clad in sheepe's clothing, yet I thinke myself bound in conscience to utter unto your Grace such things as God put in my minde to write. And this I do (God so judge me) not for hate of any person, or persons living, nor for that I thinke the word of God should go forth without persecution, if your Grace had commanded that every man within your realme should have it in his mother's tongue. For the gospel must needs have persecution unto the time that it be preached throughout all the world, which is the last signe that Christ shewed to his disciples, should come before the day of judgment : so that if your Grace had once commanded that the scripture should be put forth, the devill would set forth some wile or other to persecute the truth. But my purpose is, for the love that I have to God, principally, and the glory of his name, which is only known by his word, and for the true allegiance that I owe unto your Grace, and not to hide in the ground of my heart the talent given me of God, but to chaffer it forth to other, that it may increase to the pleasure of God, to exhort your Grace to avoid and beware of these mischievous flatterers, and their abominable ways and counsell.

“ And take heede whose counsels your Grace doth take in this matter : for there be some that, for feare of losing their worldly worship and honour, will not leave their opinion, which rashly, and that to please men withal by whom they had great promotion, they tooke upon them to defend by writing *, so that now they think that all their felicity which they put in this life, should be marred, and their wisdome not so greatly regarded, if that which they have so slanderously oppressed, should be now put forth and allowed. But alas, let these men remember St. Paul, how fervent he was against the truth (and that of a good zeale) before he was called : he thought no shame to suffer punishment and great persecutions for that which he before despised and called heresy. And I am sure that their living is not more perfect than St. Paul’s was, as concerning the outward workes of the law, before he was converted.

“ Also, the king and prophet David was not ashamed to forsake his good intent in building of the temple, after that the prophet Nathan had shewed him that it was not the pleasure of God that he should build any house for him : and, notwithstanding that Nathan had before allowed and praised the purpose of David, yet he was not ashamed to revoke and eat his words again when he knew that they were not according to God’s will and pleasure.

“ Wherefore they be sore drowned in worldly wisdome that think it against their worship to acknowledge their ignorance ; whom I pray to God, that your Grace may espy, and take heede of their worldly wisdome, which is foolishness before God : that you may do that that God commandeth, and not that which seemeth good in your own sight, without the word of God, that your Grace may be found acceptable in his sight, and one of the members of his church : and according to the office that he hath called your Grace unto, you may be found a faithful minister of his giftes, and not a defender of his faith, for he will not have it defended by man, or man’s power, but by his word only, by the which he hath evermore defended it, and that by a way far above

* This seems to be an allusion to Sir Thomas More, then lord chancellor, whose zeal for popery in its worst form is the greatest blot upon his memory.

man's power or reason, as all the stories of the bible maketh mention.

“ Wherefore, gracious king, remember yourselfe ; have pity upon your soule, and thinke that the day is even at hand when you shall give accounts of your office, and of the blood that hath been shed with your sword. In the which day, that your Grace may stand stedfastly, and be not ashamed, but to be cleare and ready in your reckoning, and to have (as they say) your *quietus est* sealed with the blood of our Saviour Christ, which only serveth at that day, is my daily prayer to him that suffered death for our sins, which also prayeth to his father for grace for us continually. To whom be all honour and praise for ever, Amen. The spirit of God preserve your Grace. Anno Domini, 1530, 1mo. die Decembris.”

This powerful appeal to the royal conscience, though it did not produce the immediate effect which the writer had in view, made an impression upon the king's mind, and confirmed him in the good opinion which he had formed of the writer, who, about this time, was presented to the living of West Kington, in Wiltshire. Thither he went contrary to the wishes of his friend, Dr. Butts, who would have had him remain at court in hopes of obtaining for him higher preferment. But Latimer had no such ambition, and besides his conscience would not permit him to hold a benefice without discharging the pastoral duty in person.

Preaching was his great delight, and in the exercise of this happy faculty he met with abundant success. The light of the gospel became diffused beyond his own parish, and the desire which the people had to hear him was so great that the mayer of Bristol sent him an invitation to preach before him and the corporation at Easter. This stirred up the malice of the Romish faction so far, that by their influence, they procured an inhibition against all preachers there who had not the bishop's license. Not content with this advantage, two bigotted priests, Powell and Hubberdine, proceeded to asperse the private character of Latimer, but when challenged to prove their charges they were forced to acknowledge that they had no authority but hearsay information for what they had advanced. Calum-

niators, instead of being ashamed when convicted of falsehood, only become more malignant, and so it was in the present case; for, finding the popularity of Latimer increased, his adversaries sent up articles of accusation against him to Stokesley, bishop of London, who, contrary to ecclesiastical order, cited him into his court. Latimer, instead of obeying the summons, appealed to the bishop of Salisbury, as being his ordinary; on which Stokesley laid the matter before the archbishop of Canterbury, who issued his citation, and appointed a commission to examine the accused.

It was now the depth of winter, and Latimer was labouring under a sharp fit of the stone and cholic, notwithstanding which he immediately hastened to London; but previous to his departure, he wrote a long letter to his friend, Sir Edward Baynham, in which he gives a minute account of his sufferings and persecutors, particularly Stokesley, of whom he says, "Me seems it were more comely for my lord to be a preacher himselfe, having so great a cure as he hath, than to be a disquieter and a troubler of preachers, and to preach nothing at all himself. If it would please his lordship to take so great labour and pain at any time, as to come to preach in my little bishopric at West Kington, whether I were present or absent myselfe, I would thank his lordship heartily, and thinke myself greatly bounden to him, that he of his charitable goodness would go so far to help to discharge me in my cure, or else I were more unnatural than a beast, unreasonable: nor yet I would dispute, contend, or demand, by what authority, or where he had authority so to do, as long as his predication were fruitful, and to the edification of my parishioners.

"As my authority is good enough, and as good as my lord can give me any, yet I would be glad to have his also, if it would please his lordship to be so good lord unto me. For the university of Cambridge hath authority apostolic to admit twelve yearly, of the which I am one: and the king's highness, God save his Grace, did decree that all admitted of universities should preach throughout all his realme, as long as they preached well, without distraine at any man, my lord of Canterbury, my lord of Duresme, with

such other, not a few standing by, and hearing the decree, nothing gainsaying it, but consenting to the same. Now to condemn my lord of London's authority were no little fault in me, so no less fault might appear in my lord of London to condemn the king's authority and decree, yea, so godly, so fruitful, so commendable a decree, pertaining both to the edification of christian souls, and also to the regard and defence of the popish grace, and authority apostolic. To have a book, of the king not inhibited, is to obey the king; and to inhibit a preacher of the king admitted, is it not to disobey the king? Is it not one king that doth inhibit and admit, and hath he not as great authority to admit as to inhibit? He that resisteth the power, whether admitting, or inhibiting, doth he not resist the ordinance of God? We low subjects are bound to obey powers, and their ordinances, and are not the highest subjects also; who ought to give us ensample of such obedience? As for my preaching itself, I trust in God, my lord of London cannot rightfully blame it, nor justly reprove it, if it be taken with the circumstance thereof, and as I spake it, or else it is not my preaching, but his that falsely reporteth it, as the poet Martial said to one that depraved his book:—

Quem recitas meus est, o Fidentine, libellus :
Sed male cum recitus, incipit esse tuus.

“ Either my lord of London will judge my outward man only, as it is said, *Omnes vident quæ foris sunt*, or else he will be my God, and judge mine inward man, as it is said, *Deus autem intuetur cor*.—If he will have to do only with mine outward man, and meddle with mine outward conversation, how that I have ordered myself toward my christian brethren, the king's liege people, I trust I shall please and content both my Lord God, and also my lord of London; for I have preached and taught but according to holy scripture, holy fathers, and ancient interpreters of the same, with the which I think my lord of London will be pacified; for I have done nothing else in my preaching, but with all diligence moved my auditors to faith and charity, to do their duty, and that that is necessary to be done. As for things of private devotion, mean things, and voluntary

things, I have reprov'd the abuse, the superstition of them, without condemnation of the things themselves, as it becometh preachers to do : which thing, if my lord of London will do himself, (as I would to God he would do), he should be reported, no doubt, to condemn the use of such things, of covetous men which have damage, and find less in their boxes by condemnation of the abuse ; which abuse they had rather should continue still, than their profit should not continue ; so thornie be their hearts. If my lord will needs coast and invade my inward man, will I, nill I, and break violently into my heart, I fear me I shall either displease my lord of London, which I would be very loath, or else my Lord God, which I will be more loath ; not for any infidelity, but for ignorance ; for I believe as a christian man ought to believe. But, peradventure, my lord knoweth, and will know, many things certainly, which, perchance, I am ignorant in ; with the which ignorance, though my lord of London may, if he will, be discontent, yet I trust my Lord God will pardon it as long as I hurt no man withal, and say to him with diligent study, and daily prayer, *paratum cor meum Deus, paratum cor meum*, so studying, preaching, and tarrying the pleasure and leisure of God ; and in the mean season, (Acts viii.) as Apollos did when he knew nothing of Christ, but *Baptismum Johannis*, teach and preach mine, even christen that, and no farther than I know to be true. There be three creeds, one in my mass, another in my matins, the third common to them that neither say mass nor matins, nor yet know what they say when they say the creed, and I believe all three, with all that God hath left in holy writ for me and all others to believe : yet I am ignorant in things which I trust hereafter to know, as I do now know things in which I have been ignorant heretofore : ever learne and ever to be learned ; to profit with learning, with ignorance not to annoy.

“ I have thought in times past, that the pope, Christ's vicar, had been lord of all the world as Christ is, so that if he should have deprived the king of his crown, or you of your lordship of Bromham, it had been enough : for he could do no wrong. Now I might be hired to think otherwise, notwithstanding I have both seen and heard scripture

drawn to that purpose. I have thought in times past that the pope's dispensations of pluralities of benefices, and absence from the same, had discharged consciences before God: forasmuch as I had heard *ecce vobiscum sum*, and *qui vos audit, me audit*, tended to corroborate the same. Now I might be easily intreated to think otherwise. I have thought in times past that the pope could have spoiled purgatory at his pleasure, with a word of his mouth: now learning might perswade me otherwise; or else I would marvel why he would suffer so much money to be bestowed that way, which so needful is to be bestowed otherwise, and to deprive us of so many portions in heaven as he might deliver out of purgatory. I have thought in times past, that if I had been a friar and in a cowl, I could not have been damned nor afraid of death; and by occasion of the same, I have been minded many times to have been a friar, namely when I was sore sick and diseased. Now I abhor my superstitious foolishness. I have thought in times past, that divers images of saints could have holpen me, and done me much good, and delivered me of my diseases; now I know that one can help as much as another. And it pitieth mine heart that my lord, and such as my lord is, can suffer the people to be so craftily deceived. It were too long to tell you what blindness I have been in, and how long it were ere I could forsake such folly, it was so corporate in me; but by continual prayer, continual study of scripture, and oft communing with men of more right judgement, God hath delivered me. Yea, men thinketh that my lord himself hath thought in times past, that by God's law a man might marry his brother's wife, which now both dare think and say contrary*, and yet this his boldness might have chanced in pope Julius's days, to stand him either in a fire or else in a fagot. Which thing deeply considered and pondered of my lord, might something stir him to charitable equity, and to be something remissable toward men, which labour to do good as their power serveth with knowledge, and doth hurt to no man with their ignorance: for there is no greater dis-

* Stokesley was so zealous in promoting the divorce of Henry and Catherine, that the king actually pitched upon him to argue the case with Sir Thomas More, who was of opinion that the marriage could not be legally set aside.

tance, than between God's law, and not God's law : nor is it not so, or so ; because any man thinketh it so, or so ; but because it is so or so indeed, therefore we must think it so or so, when God shall give us knowledge thereof ; for if it be indeed either so or not, it is so or not so, though all the world had thought otherwise these thousand years.

“ And, finally, the matter is weighty, and ought substantially to be looked upon ; even as weighty as my life is worth : but how to look substantially upon it, otherwise know not I, than to pray my Lord God day and night, that as he hath boldened me to preach his truth, so he will strengthen me to suffer for it, to the edification of them which have taken by the working of him, fruite thereby ; and even so I desire you, and all other that favour me for his sake, likewise to pray ; for it is not I (without his helping hand) that can abide that brunt : but I have trust that God will help me in time of need, which, if I had not, the ocean sea, I think, should have divided my lord of London and me by this day. For it is a rare thing for a preacher to have favour at his hand which is no preacher himself, and yet ought to be : I pray God that both he and I may discharge ourselves, he in his great cure, and I in my little, to God's pleasure, and safety of our souls,—Amen.

“ I pray you pardon me that I write no more distinctly, nor more truly : for my head is so out of frame, that it should be too painful for me to write it again ; and if I be not prevented, shortly I intend to make merry with my parishioners this Christmas, for all the sorrow, least perchance I never return to them again ; and I have heard say, that a doe is as good in winter as a buck in summer.”

On the arrival of Latimer in London, he appeared before the commissioners appointed to examine him, and who immediately tendered him a set of articles for his subscription as follows :—

“ That there is a purgatory to purge the souls of the dead after this life—that the souls in purgatory are holpen with the masses, prayers, and alms of the living—that the saints do pray as mediators now for us in heaven—that they are to be honoured—that it is profitable for christians to call upon the saints that they may pray for us unto God—

that pilgrimages and oblations done to the sepulchres and reliques of saints are meritorious—that they which have vowed perpetual chastity, may not marry, nor break their vow, without the dispensation of the pope—that the keys of binding and loosing delivered to Peter do still remain with the bishops of Rome his successors, although they live wickedly, and are by no means, nor at any time committed to laymen—that men may merit at God's hand by fasting, prayer, and other works of piety—that they which are forbidden of the bishop to preach, as suspected persons, ought to cease until they have purged themselves—that the fast which is used in Lent, and other fasts prescribed by the canons are to be observed—that God in every one of the seven sacraments, giveth grace to a man rightly receiving the same—that consecrations, sanctifyings, and blessings, by custom received into the church are profitable—that it is laudable and profitable that the venerable images of the crucifix and other saints should be had in the church as a remembrance, and to the honour and worship of Jesus Christ, and his saints—that it is laudable and profitable to deck and clothe those images, and to set up burning lights before them to the honour of the said saints."

The paper containing these propositions being tendered to Latimer, he read it over and returned it, without signing the same or saying a word; upon which the archbishop thus addressed him, "We intend not to be hard upon you; take a copy of the articles, examine them carefully, and God grant that at our next meeting we may find each other in better temper."

There were two more meetings, at both of which Latimer remained firm to his purpose in refusing to subscribe the articles, for which he was at first declared contumacious, and afterwards excommunicated. In order, however, to bring him to some submission, it was resolved at a subsequent convocation, to take off the sentence if he would sign two of the articles, namely, the one respecting the observance of Lent, and that concerning the crucifix, and the lawfulness of images in churches. Fox is in doubt whether Latimer submitted to this condition; and Gilpin, in his memoir of our reformer, roundly asserts that he did not recant;

but the fact is put beyond all question by the minutes of the convocation, where it is recorded, that in the month of March, 1531-2, Latimer appeared, and kneeling down, craved forgiveness, acknowledging that he had erred in preaching against the aforesaid two articles. His words are: "My lords, I do confess, that I have misordered myself very far, in that I have so presumptuously and boldly preached, reproving certain things, by which the people that were infirm hath taken occasion of ill. Wherefore I ask forgiveness of my misbehaviour. I will be glad to make amends. And I have spoken indiscreetly in vehemence of speaking, and have erred in some things, and in manner have been in a wrong way, lacking discretion in many things." After making this confession, which amounted to any thing but an absolute retractation of opinions, he desired absolution. This, however, was deferred till the 10th of April, when he subscribed the two articles already mentioned, and a further hearing was appointed. When that day came it appeared that a new complaint had been brought against him respecting a letter which he had written to one Greenwood of Cambridge. The result of this was another adjournment of his cause, on which he appealed to the king, whose mandate brought the vexatious business to a conclusion, and Latimer, after repeating his submission before the convocation, was restored to his functions.

This, however, was rather a mortification than a victory to the enemies of the good man, and therefore new engines were set at work by them to effect his ruin. But while these designs were carrying on, the friends of Latimer at court were not idle. These were Dr. Butts, Lord Cromwell, and above all the rest, Queen Anne Boleyn, who was much taken with the apostolic appearance of Latimer, the fervour of his zeal in preaching, and the excellence of his character. This unfortunate woman was now at the height of her influence over the capricious mind of Henry; and being much attached to the protestant party, she exerted all her interest in their behalf.

Two bishoprics were at this time vacant, Worcester and Salisbury, and the queen thinking that Latimer was better qualified to promote the reformation in a public than

private capacity, recommended him to the king for the former see. Henry, who had already formed a good opinion of the man, very readily gave his consent, and the consecration was performed at Lambeth, by archbishop Cranmer, in September, 1535. Thus Latimer was providentially rescued from the hands of his inveterate enemies, and placed in a sphere of more extended usefulness. As a bishop, he laboured with indefatigable diligence, and those abuses which he could not altogether remove, were rendered less offensive by his prudent management. Among other superstitions which then prevailed, one of the most common and scandalous, was the custom of distributing holy water and holy bread in the churches, to which elements the people paid uncommon reverence, as preservatives from witchcraft, diseases, and lightning. The bishop of Worcester finding that he could not set aside the practice, endeavoured to make it in some degree instructive, by drawing up two forms, in popular language, to be used by the clergy, when they distributed the water and bread. On giving the former, the priest was directed to say :

Remember your promise in baptism,
Christ his mercy and bloodshedding,
By whose most holy sprinkling,
Of all your sins you have free pardoning.

And on distributing the bread he was to use these words :

Of Christ's body this is a token,
Which on the cross for our sins was broken,
Wherefore of your sins you must be forsakers,
If, of Christ's death ye would be partakers.

While Latimer was thus labouring for the edification of his flock, he suffered a severe stroke in the fall of Anne Boleyn, to whom he was much attached, on account of her amiable spirit, and the earnestness with which she had espoused the cause of the gospel. But, zealous as she was for the reformation, this unfortunate lady did not approve of the spoliation of the monastic institutions. She thought that some of those monuments of ancient piety ought to be preserved, for the education of youth, the support of the destitute, and the comfort of the penitent. In that sentiment Latimer heartily concurred, and, therefore, was easily per-

suaded by the queen to enforce the point with all his eloquence, in one of his sermons before the king. But the ravenous courtiers were too hard for the preacher, and those endowments which had been devoted by the founders to the glory of God, and the improvement of mankind, were sacrilegiously seized, and divided among a set of sycophants.

The death of the queen revived the hopes of the papists, but it did not dishearten the protestants, or cause them to relax in their efforts to complete the great work in which they had embarked. In the month of June, 1536, a parliament and convocation assembled. Before this last venerable body, Latimer, by command of the archbishop, delivered an oration or sermon, in Latin, which was afterwards translated, and printed in English. In this discourse the preacher took a free and comprehensive view of the existing corruptions in the church, and urged upon his auditors the necessity and duty of reforming them by their united counsels and individual exertions.

The eloquence of Latimer, however, had little effect, for the convocation was made up of two parties so directly hostile to each other, that nothing could reconcile them. The papists being the most forward and violent, drew up a bill against heretical opinions, concluding by some reflections upon persons in authority, who had deserted the received doctrine of the church; by whom were evidently meant archbishop Cranmer, Latimer, bishop of Worcester, and Shaxton, of Salisbury. Great debates arose upon this, but just as matters were drawing to an extremity, Cromwell entered the house, and addressing himself to the popish bishops, required them, in the king's name, to put an end to their opposition. This was a thunderclap to that party, and an encouragement to the reformers, who now attacked the superstitions of popery with such force, that four of the seven sacraments were, in the same convocation, rejected. In these contentions, the bishop of Worcester took no active part, for disputation was not his talent; but there can be little doubt of his contributing private assistance to all the measures brought forward by Cranmer, for the removal of the popish superstitions.

At the conclusion of the session he hastened down to his

diocese, his whole ambition being to discharge faithfully the duties of the pastoral office. When, however, circumstances required it, he would undertake causes, which did not belong properly to his episcopal character. A case of this description occurred at the period of which we are now treating. A gentleman of Warwickshire, in some purchase had taken an unfair advantage of the ignorance of a poor man, in which act of oppression he was assisted by his brother, who was a justice of the peace. The sufferer, in this dilemma, was advised to lay his complaint before the bishop of Worcester ; which he did, and his lordship having patiently heard the story, sent him home with the promise of his assistance. The bishop was as good as his word, for he immediately wrote a letter to the justice, remonstrating with him upon the wrong which he and his brother had committed, and calling upon both to make restitution. The gentlemen were mightily offended at this interference of the bishop, and stood upon what they called their legal right. This neither intimidated nor satisfied Latimer, who plainly gave them to understand that if they did not repair the wrong which had been done, he would go up to London, and lay the whole matter before the king. The character of the bishop was so well known, that no farther opposition was made, and the poor man regained the property of which he had been deprived.

On the 22nd of May 1538, John Forest, a franciscan friar was executed in Smithfield, for denying the king's supremacy, and other seditious practices. Bishop Latimer, on that occasion, by order of the council, preached a sermon at the foot of the gallows ; after which he asked Forest, what state he would die in ? to which he replied, " that if an angel should come down from heaven to teach him any other doctrine than he had received and believed from his youth, he would not now believe him ; and that if his body, should be cut joint by joint, or member after member, burnt, hanged, or what pain soever might be done to his body, he would never turn from his old profession." Forest then addressing Latimer, said that, " seven years past, he durst not have made such a sermon for his life*."

* Wood, Athen. Oxon. vol. i. p. 49. ed. 1721.

In 1539, the bishop was again called to attend in his place, as a lord of parliament ; but, soon after his arrival, he was accused before the king of having preached a seditious sermon, and that too at court. Who his accuser was we are not told ; but Latimer himself, when he related the particulars in one of his discourses before Edward VI., intimated that it was a person of high rank, and little to have been suspected of such conduct. The charge being made in the presence of the bishop, the king, casting upon him a stern look, demanded, "What say you to that, sir?" "Then," to use Latimer's own words, "I kneeled down, and turned me, first to my accuser, and required him, 'Sir, what form of preaching would you appoint me, in preaching before a king? Would you have me preach nothing as concerning a king, in the king's sermon? Have you any commission to appoint me what I shall preach?' Besides this I asked him divers other questions, and he would make me no answer to any of them all ; he had nothing to say. Then I turned me to the king, and submitted myself to his Grace, and said, 'I never thought myself worthy nor I never sued to be a preacher before your Grace, but I was called to it, and would be willing, if you mislike me, to give place to my betters ; for I grant there be a great many more worthy of the room than I am ; and if it be your Grace's pleasure so to allow them for preachers, I could be content to bear their books after them ; but if your Grace allow me for a preacher, I would desire your Grace to give me leave to discharge my conscience ; give me leave to frame my doctrine, according to my audience. I had been a very dolt to have preached so at the borders of your realm, as I preach before your Grace.'"

This noble answer struck the monarch with such force, that the severity of his countenance melted into a smile ; and he dismissed the good bishop with a gracious expression of his favour, instead of sending him to the tower as was generally expected.

Latimer had so little of the pliability of a courtier, that one new year's day instead of carrying, according to the custom of that age, a rich gift to the king, he pre-

sented him with the new testament, a leaf of which was doubled in at this passage " Whoremongers and adulterers God will judge;" nor does it appear that even this gave any offence to the high-minded sovereign, whose vice was treated with such freedom.

The truth is, Henry, when left to himself, was liberal in his sentiments; but when he suffered his judgment to be biassed by designing men, who knew how to work upon his passions, he became at once inconsistent, and a tyrant. Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, who was a man of deep policy, saw through his master's character, and took advantage of it, by flattering him in every possible way. This crafty ecclesiastic, in 1538, was sent to the German Diet, at Ratisbon, where he fell under the suspicion of holding a secret correspondence with the pope, to whose service he was much attached, though he had written a book against the papal supremacy. Soon after his return home from this mission, it was observed that the mind of the king became irritated on the subject of religion, and that, instead of carrying on the reformation, he appeared disposed to retrace his steps. Accordingly, the duke of Norfolk and Gardiner found themselves strong enough to bring forward, in parliament, the famous act of Six Articles, in which all the essentials of popery were restored. In this sanguinary statute it is decreed:—" First, that in the most blessed sacrament of the altar, by the strength and efficacy of Christ's mighty word, (it being spoken by the priest) is present really, under the form of bread and wine, the natural body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, conceived of the Virgin Mary; and that after the consecration, there remaineth no substance of bread or wine, or any other substance, but the substance of Christ, God and man.

" Secondly, that the communion, in both kinds, is not necessary, *ad salutem*, by the law of God, to all persons; and that it is to be believed, and not doubted of, but that in the flesh, under the form of bread, is the very blood, and with the blood, under the form of wine, is the very flesh, as well apart, as though they were both together.

" Thirdly, that priests, after the order of priesthood, received, as afore, may not marry, by the law of God.

“Fourthly, that vows of chastity, and widowhood, by men or women, made to God advisedly, ought to be observed, by the law of God ; and that it exempteth them from the liberties of Christian people, which without that they might enjoy.

“Fifthly, That it is meet and necessary that private mass be continued and admitted in this the king’s English church and congregation, as whereby good christian people, ordering themselves accordingly, do receive both godly and goodly consolations and benefits : and it is agreeable also to God’s law.

“Sixthly, That auricular confession is expedient and necessary to be retained, and continued, used and frequented in the church of God.”

The penalty for writing, preaching, or disputing against the first article was death, and the forfeiture of estate : and for denying any of the other five it was imprisonment during the king’s pleasure, with the confiscation of goods.

Thus the hopes, which the protestants had entertained of a farther reformation, were not only destroyed, but they saw themselves exposed to all the horrors of persecution.

The bishop of Worcester, with his characteristic spirit and abhorrence of duplicity, resolved at once to make a sacrifice of his interest for the sake of a good conscience ; and, therefore, as he would not be instrumental in enforcing what he disapproved, he gave up his preferment, July 11, 1539. But in this, as in all the circumstances of his life, Latimer maintained his habitual pleasantness, for when he laid aside his episcopal robes, he jumped up, and said, “That he was now rid of a great burthen, and had never found his shoulders so light before.”

Upon his resignation of the bishopric, he retired into the country, intending to lead a quiet life, and wait the issue of the divine dispensations. Not long afterwards, however, he met with a serious accident by the falling of a tree, which bruised him so severely that he was under the necessity of repairing to London for surgical assistance. The persecution was now raging with great fury, and the emissaries of Gardiner were on the alert, in all directions to discover those who were suspected of controverting the six articles. The arrival of Latimer was known, and his con-

duct was closely watched in order to find some matter on which to frame an accusation. There was little difficulty in getting up a charge, where words of the most innocent import were liable to misconstruction. It was said that Latimer had expressed something in a conversation defamatory of one or more of the six articles, upon which he was apprehended, brought before the council, and sent to the tower. There is no record of the examination, though there is reason to think it took place in the royal presence, which, perhaps, may account for his not being proceeded against on the capital part of the penal statute, in the web of which he was entangled.

Six years lay Latimer in the tower, looking daily for death, and resolved to endure it in its most terrifying tortures rather than abandon, as he said, one jot of the truth of God's word. His life was spared, however, through the whole of that tempestuous reign ; and immediately on the accession of Edward VI. he obtained his liberty. The prospect now began to brighten upon the protestants, for though the king was but a child, his uncle and guardian the earl of Hertford, afterwards duke of Somerset, was a decided friend to the reformation.

The parliament very readily accorded with the views of the new government, particularly in repealing the obnoxious acts that had disgraced the latter part of the preceding reign, and it redounded not a little to Latimer's honour that one of their first measures was an address, praying that he might be restored to the bishopric of Worcester. The protector was very willing to comply with this request ; but upon its being communicated to Latimer, he begged leave to decline the appointment, alleging, for his excuse, his great age, increasing infirmities, and the desire he had of leading a private life. He now accepted an invitation to reside with his friend Cranmer at Lambeth, where his principal business was to receive the complaints of poor people, and to redress the wrongs of the injured ; so that the prime minister himself had scarcely a greater levee than Latimer, to whom the afflicted resorted for advice from every part of the kingdom. Such was the corruption of the times, that the stream of justice was poisoned at the fountain, and it was in vain for a poor

man to contend with his wealthy oppressor in a court of law, where power and money only prevailed. Latimer, in one of his sermons before the king and protector, gave a shocking picture of the legal administration of the country. "I cannot go to my book," said he, "for poor folks come unto me, desiring me that I will speak that their matters may be heard. I trouble my lord of Canterbury, and being at his house now and then I walk in the garden looking in my book, as I can do but little good at it. But something I must needs do to satisfy this place. I am no sooner in the garden and have read a while, but by and by cometh there some or other knocking at the gate. Anon cometh my man, and saith, 'Sir, there is one at the gate would speak with you.' When I come there, then it is some or other that desireth me that I will speak that his matter might be heard, that he hath lain thus long at a great cost and charges, and cannot once have his matter come to the hearing."

The object of Latimer in thus mentioning the numerous applications made to him on the behalf of persons who were aggrieved by the delay and perversion of law, was, that he might bring the evil before those who had the power of redressing it; and he chose this public manner of doing so to deprive them of any excuse for neglecting to perform their duty. Hence his sermons at court abounded with circumstantial details of facts in support of the charges which he brought forward against the corrupt practices of the nobility, the judges, and ecclesiastics of his time. He spared none, and least of all those of his own order, among whom he lamented to see so few that had a proper sense of their obligations as ministers of the gospel. Latimer was a frequent preacher, not only before the king and at Paul's Cross, but also in various parts of the country. Such was his diligence through the whole of this reign, that, notwithstanding his great age, he preached for the most part every Sunday twice; and it was his ordinary practice to rise at two in the morning, winter and summer, to pursue his private studies. Of the extraordinary effects of his ministry, he gave an instance himself in his last sermon at court. "I have now," said he, "preached three Lents. The first time I preached restitution. 'Restitution!' quoth some,

‘ what should he preach of restitution ? Let him preach of contrition,’ quoth they, ‘ and let restitution alone. We can never make restitution :’ then, say I, if thou wilt not make restitution thou shalt go to the devil for it. Now choose thee either restitution or else endless damnation. But now there be two manner of restitutions, secret restitution, and open restitution ; whether of both it be, so that restitution be made, it is all good enough. At my first preaching of restitution, one man took remorse of conscience, and acknowledged himself to me, that he had deceived the king, and willing he was to make restitution : and so the first Lent came to my hands, twenty pounds to be restored to the king’s use. I was promised twenty pounds more the same Lent, but it could not be made, so that it came not. Well, the next Lent came three hundred and twenty pounds more. I received it myself, and paid it to the king’s council. So I was asked, what he was that made this restitution ? But should I have named him ? Nay, they should as soon have this weason of mine. Well, now this Lent came one hundred and eighty pounds ten shillings, which I have paid and delivered this present day to the king’s council : and so this man hath made a godly restitution.”

It is strange that none of the biographers of Latimer should have mentioned the person whose conscience was thus moved by his preaching, as if a circumstance so honourable to both had scarcely been deemed worthy of notice or inquiry. The reader, however, will think otherwise when he is informed that the penitent was John Bradford the martyr. That worthy man had been employed as secretary to Sir John Harrington, treasurer and paymaster of the English forces in France ; and while in that department had connived at some acts of peculation to a considerable amount. On leaving the army he became a student in the Temple, but by hearing Latimer his mind became so impressed with a sense of religion that he gave up the law, made restitution for the wrong in which he had participated, and entered into orders. As a preacher he became not less popular than Latimer himself, for which he was brought to the stake by Bonner on the first of July 1555.

Another of Latimer’s hearers and admirers was Kathe-

rine duchess dowager of Suffolk, before whom he preached several sermons at Grimsthorpe, her seat in Lincolnshire.

This excellent lady was the daughter and heiress of William lord Willoughby of Eresby, and the third wife of Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, who, dying in 1545, she married Mr. Richard Bertie, ancestor of the Ancaster family.

Not long after the accession of Mary, the duchess being informed that her life was in danger, escaped in disguise out of the kingdom with Mr. Bertie, and an infant daughter. On their journey from Flanders into Germany, they were set upon by thieves, and robbed of the little property they had been able to carry with them. This misfortune, which happened at night and in the winter, was the more distressing as the duchess was far advanced in her pregnancy, had a young child to take care of, and was without a servant.

On entering the town of Wesel, they endeavoured to procure lodgings, but for want of money, and having all the appearance of mendicity, they could obtain no accommodation. In this distressing state, they took shelter in the porch of a church, where Mr. Bertie having procured some wood kindled a fire; but while thus employed, the sexton came and would have driven them away. The resistance which ensued brought the officers to the spot, and the strangers were carried before the magistrates, who, upon being made acquainted with their quality treated them with due respect. At this place the duchess was delivered of a son named Peregrine, who succeeded to the title of lord Willoughby, and became a famous general in the reign of Elizabeth.

On the death of Mary, the duchess returned with her family to England, where she lived to a good old age, in the practice of every virtue, and an ornament of that religion for which she had suffered so much adversity*.

We must now resume our account of Latimer, whose preaching was too plain and powerful not to give offence in a court where almost every one was intent upon his own private ends. It has, however, never yet been proved, that any of the representations which he exhibited in his public

* The history of the duchess of Suffolk was made the subject of a long and curious ballad, which was very popular in the sixteenth century.

discourses originated in spleen, or were the effects of a heated imagination, and the only case in which a serious charge has ever been alleged against him as a preacher, is that of having spoken freely respecting the character of Thomas Seymour, lord Sudley, and high admiral of England, who was attainted of high treason, and executed March 20, 1548-9. On this occasion, Latimer is said to have defended the death of the admiral, in a sermon preached before the king, when, among other things he is reported to have affirmed, that during the imprisonment of this lord in the tower, he wrote to the princesses Mary and Elizabeth, charging his brother, the protector, with treasonable designs upon the crown. Stow is vouched for this story, and upon that authority Milton has abused Latimer with all the virulence of sectarian malignity. Collier, also, in his *Ecclesiastical History*, has noticed the charge against Latimer with a reflection upon his veracity; but if that writer had examined the sermon alluded to, he would have spared his censure; for though the act of attainder is there justified on the usual plea of expediency, not one word occurs in it about the correspondence of the admiral.

It is, however, somewhat extraordinary that Milton, who thought so highly of parliaments, should have reproached Latimer for asserting a right which the friends of the republican poet claimed themselves, when they found it necessary for their purpose to take off the great earl of Strafford soon after he had been virtually acquitted by his peers.

Acts of attainder no doubt are odious things, and so they appeared even to Latimer; but being persuaded, as he was, of the admiral's guilt, there was nothing either in his language or sentiments, considering the times in which he lived, that merited censure. It is singular, however, that the passage in question, upon which so much stress has been laid, should have been omitted in all the editions of Latimer's sermons, subsequent to that of John Day, in 1562. In the present it is restored, and though it may not raise the preacher high in the reader's estimation as a politician, it will be far from furnishing any thing like an impeachment of his integrity.

What bishop Burnet has said of Latimer, as being "a

simple and weak man," is less to the purpose ; and therefore might have been passed over with contempt.

The character of Latimer throughout the whole course of his life certainly displayed perfect simplicity ; but it was a simplicity of the most amiable description. Truth was his single object, and he considered the propagation of it as a duty paramount to all others in a minister of the gospel. Political intrigues he left to those who were better fitted for those thorny and perplexing concerns : but it does not follow, that because he avoided such pursuits, he was therefore a man of weak mind. On the contrary, his discourses evince considerable ingenuity, great liveliness of conception, no small portion of wit, and a very extensive knowledge of mankind. His abilities were so well appreciated by archbishop Cranmer, who, in spite of Burnet's reflection, possessed high talents, that he consulted him in all the proceedings of the reformation ; and particularly in the composition of the book of Homilies, where the pen of Latimer may be traced by any one who will take the trouble of comparing those authorized discourses with his sermons, the language of both being in many parts exactly the same.

The labours of Latimer seemed to increase with his years, and to adopt the words of the honest martyrologist, "as the diligence of this man of God never ceased all the time of king Edward to profit the church both publicly and privately, so among other doings in him to be noted, this is not lightly to be overpassed, but worthy to be observed, that God not only gave unto him his Spirit plenteously and comfortably to preach his word unto his church, but also by the same Spirit, he did so evidently foreshew and prophesy of all those kinds of plagues afore, which afterward ensued, that if ever England had a prophet he might seem to be one. And he ever affirmed that the preaching of the gospel would cost him his life, to the which he no less cheerfully prepared himself, being certainly persuaded that the bishop of Winchester was kept in the tower for the same purpose, as the event did too truly prove."

When that pious youth, Edward VI., was seized with the malady which, to the great loss of the nation, carried

him off in his sixteenth year, Latimer was in the country preaching the gospel ; nor did he relax from that duty after the accession of Queen Mary, though well assured that he would soon be called to seal with his blood the truth which he had taught.

It required not the spirit of prophecy to discern the storm that was now about to fall upon the protestants ; for less was not to be expected from the ascendancy of a church in which persecution has ever been a ruling principle ; but in proportion as we shudder at the detestable bigotry, policy and cruelty of the papists, our admiration is raised to the highest pitch in contemplating the noble stand which the victims of their malice made in this hour of fiery trial.

Latimer was near Coventry when, at Gardiner's instigation, the privy council sent an officer with a citation for him to appear before them. John Careless, a religious weaver of that city, and himself a martyr, being informed of the arrival of the pursuivant and his errand, lost no time in communicating the intelligence to the good old man, that he might take measures for his safety. But though he had six hours, during which time he could easily have eluded any search, he waited calmly the coming of the officer, to whom, on his expressing some wonder at seeing him prepared for so long a journey, he said, " My friend, you be a welcome messenger to me. And be it known unto you, and to the whole world, that I go as willingly to London, at this present, being called by my prince to render a reckoning of my doctrine, as ever I was at any place in the world. I doubt not but that God, as he hath made me worthy to preach his word before two princes, so he will enable me to witness the same unto the third, either to her comfort or discomfort eternally."

The pursuivant, having no orders to take his person, left the citation and departed. From this it is reasonably inferred by Fox, " that the council would have been glad to let him escape out of the kingdom, lest his constancy should deface them in their popery and confirm the godly in the truth." The probability is, however, that they were afraid

of a commotion, knowing how greatly Latimer was held in veneration by the people for the abundance of his good deeds, as well as for his eloquence.

Let this be as it may, to London he came, and on passing through Smithfield, where heretics were commonly burnt, he said, pleasantly, "this place hath long groaned for me." The next morning, September 13, 1553, he appeared before the council, where he underwent an examination, or rather encountered much bitter reproach, after which he was sent to the tower "for his sedicious demeanour, there to remaine a close prisoner, having, attending upon him, Austyne, his servant*."

Latimer was no stranger to the tower, but the treatment which he now met with, was infinitely more severe than what he had suffered during his former confinement. When the winter came on he was even kept without fire, on which he one day told the servant to inform his master that "if he did not look better after him, perchance, he would deceive him." This message being delivered to the lieutenant, alarmed him so much that he hastened to know whether Latimer had used those words, and what he meant by them. "Yea, master lieutenant," replied the old man, "I so said indeed: for you look, I think, that I should burn, but except you let me have some fire, I am like to deceive your expectation, for I am like here to starve for cold."

There were in the tower, at the same time with Latimer, Cranmer, Ridley, and Bradford; who at first were all kept in separate apartments; but when the number of prisoners increased, the four martyrs were placed together in one room. For this, we have Latimer's own authority, in his protestation to the popish delegates at Oxford. After stating that he had read over the new testament seven times since he was in prison, he said, "And because, peradventure, my masters might say, that I doted for age, and my wits were gone, so that my words were not to be credited; yet, behold the providence of God, which will have his truth known, did bring this to pass, that when these famous men, Mr. Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury,

* Minutes of the privy council.

Mr. Ridley, bishop of London, that holy man, Mr. Bradford, and I, old Hugh Latimer, were imprisoned in the Tower of London for Christ's gospel preaching, and for because we would not go a massing, every one in close prison from the other; the same tower being full of other prisoners, that we four were thrust into one chamber, as men not to be accounted of, but God be thanked! to our great joy and comfort, there did we together read over the new testament with great deliberation and painful study. And I assure you, as I will answer before the tribunal throne of God's majesty, we could find in the testament of Christ's body and blood, none other presence, but a spiritual presence; nor that the mass was any sacrifice for sins: but in that heavenly book it appears that the sacrifice which Christ Jesus, our redeemer, did upon the cross was perfect, holy, and good; that God the heavenly Father did require none other, nor that same again to be done*."

Before this, a conference in writing had been carried on between Latimer and Ridley, at the desire of the latter, who wished to have his mind strengthened with proper arguments and godly resolution for the defence of the truth. "Wherefore," said he to Latimer, "I pray you good father, for that you are an old soldier, and an expert warrior, and God knoweth I am but a young soldier, and as yet of small experience in these fits; help me, I pray you, to buckle my harness." To this Latimer replied, "I begin now to smell what you mean. By travelling thus with me, you use me as Bilney once did, when he converted me, pretending as though he would be taught of me; he sought ways and means to teach me, and so do you. I thank you, therefore, most heartily: for, indeed you administer armour unto me, whereas I was unarmed before, and unprovided, saving that I give myself to prayer for my refuge."

The two friends then interchanged their observations on the leading points of the controversy in which they were likely soon to be engaged with the men in power.

Nothing could be more solid or judicious than the remarks and advice of Latimer: "Better," said he, "a few

* Strype's Eccles. Memorials, vol. iii. p. 92. Records.

things well pondered, than to trouble the memory with too much. You shall prevail more with praying, than with studying, though mixture be best, for so one shall alleviate the tediousness of the other. I intend not to contend much with them in words, after a reasonable account of my faith given ; for it shall be but in vain. They will say as their fathers did, when they have no more to say : ‘ We have a law and by our law he ought to die.’ ”

At the conclusion, Ridley thus pathetically addressed his friend, “ Good father, for as much as I have determined with myself to pour forth these my cogitations into your bosom ; here me thinketh, I see you suddenly lifting up your head towards heaven, after your manner, and then looking upon me with your propheticall countenance, and speaking unto me, with these, or like, words, “ Trust not my son, (I beseech you, vouchsafe me the honour of this name ; for in so doing I shall think myself both honoured and loved of you,) trust not, I say, my son, to these word weapons ; for the kingdom of God is not in words, but in power. And remember always the words of the Lord, ‘ Do not imagine aforehand what and how you will speak ; for it shall be given you, even in that same hour, what ye shall speak ; for it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father which speaketh in you.’ I pray you, therefore, father, pray for me, that I may cast my whole care upon him and trust him in all perils. For I know, and am surely persuaded that whatsoever I can imagine or think aforehand, it is nothing, except he assist me with his Spirit when the time is. I beseech you, therefore, father, pray for me, that such a complete harness of the Spirit, such boldness of mind, may be given unto me, that I may out of a true faith say with David, ‘ I will not trust in my bow, and it is not my sword that shall save me. For he hath no pleasure in the strength of an horse, &c. ; but the Lord’s delight is in them that fear him, and put their trust in his mercy.’ I beseech you pray, pray, that I may enter this fight only in the name of God ; and that when all is past, I, being not overcome, through his gracious aid may remain and stand fast in him, till that day of the Lord, in the which to them that obtain the victory, shall be given the lively manna to eat, and a

triumphant crown, for evermore, Now, father, I pray you help me to buckle on this gear a little better; for ye know the deepness of Satan, being a known soldier, and you have collared with him ere now; blessed be God, that hath ever aided you so well. I suppose he may well hold you at the bay; but, truly, he will not be so willing, I think, to join with you, as with us younglings. Sir, I beseech you, let your servant read this my babbling unto you, and now and then, as it shall seem unto you best, let your pen run on my book; spare not to blot my paper. I give you good leave."

The answer of Latimer shews, that he possessed, under all the infirmities of age and distress, the same vigorous mind that had animated him in the sunshine of life. "Sir," says he, "I have caused my man not only to read your armour unto me, but also to write it out; for it is not only no bare armour, but also well buckled armour, I see not how it could be better. I thank you, even from the bottom of my heart, for it, and my prayer shall you not lack, trusting that you do the like for me; for, indeed, there is the help. Many things make confusion in the memory; and if I were as well learned as Saint Paul, I would not bestow much amongst them, further than to gall them, and spurgall too, when and where, as occasion were given and matter came to mind: for the law shall be their sheet-anchor, stay, and refuge. Therefore, there is no remedy, namely, now when they have the master bowl in their hand, and rule the roast, but patience. Better is it to suffer what cruelty they will put unto us, than to incur God's high indignation. Where, good my lord, be of good cheer in the Lord, with due consideration, what he requireth of you; and what he doth promise you. Our common enemy shall do no more than God will permit him. God is faithful, which will not suffer us to be tempted above our strength. Be at a point what ye will stand unto: stick unto that, and let them both say and do what they list. They can but kill the body, which otherwise is of itself mortal. Neither yet shall they do that when they list, but when God shall suffer them, when the hour appointed is come. To use many words with them it shall be but in vain, now

that they have a bloody and deadly law prepared for them. But it is very requisite that ye give a reasonable account of your faith, if they will quietly hear you : else ye know, in a wicked place of judgment, a man may keep silence, after the example of Christ. Let them not deceive you with their sophistical sophisms and fallacies. You know that false things may have more appearance of truth, than things that be most true ; therefore Paul giveth us a watch-word, " Let no man deceive you with likeliness of speech." Neither is it requisite that with the contentious ye should follow strife of words, which tend to no edification, but to the subversion of the hearers, and the vain bragging and ostentation of the adversaries. Fear of death doth most persuade a great number. Be well aware of that argument ; for that persuaded Shaxton *, (as many men thought) after that he had once made a good profession openly before the judgment-seat. The flesh is weak, but the willingness of the spirit shall refresh the weakness of the flesh. The number of the criers under the altar must needs be fulfilled ; if we be segregated thereunto, happy be we. That is the greatest promotion that God giveth in this world, to be such Philippians, to whom it is given not only to believe, but also to suffer, &c. But who is able to do these things ? Surely, all our ability, all our sufficiency is of God. He requireth and promiseth. Let us declare our obedience to his will, when it shall be requisite, in the time of trouble, yea, in the midst of the fire. When that number is fulfilled, which I ween shall be shortly, then have at the papists, when they shall say peace, all things are safe, when Christ shall come to keep his great parliament, to the redress of all things that be amiss. But he shall not come, as the papists fain him, to hide himself, and to play bo-peep, as it were, under a piece of bread, but he shall come gloriously, to the terror and fear of all papists, but to the great consolation and comfort of all that will here suffer for him. Comfort your-

* Nicholas Shaxton, bishop of Salisbury, was at first so zealous for the reformation, that on the passing of the six bloody articles, in 1539, he resigned his preferment ; but, in the year 1546, he made his submission, and signed a copious recantation. After this he was compelled to disgrace himself still more, by being ordered to preach a sermon at the martyrdom of the accomplished Mrs. Anne Askew.

selves, one another, with these words. Lo, sir, here have I blotted your paper vainly, and played the fool egregiously; but so I thought better than not to do your request at this time. Pardon me, and pray for me; pray for me, I say, pray for me, I say; for I am sometimes so fearful that I would creep into a mouse-hole: sometimes God doth visit me again with his comfort. So he cometh and goeth, to teach me to feel and to know mine infirmity, to the intent to give thanks to him that is worthy, least I should rob him of his duty, as many do, and almost all the world. What credence is to be given to papists, it may appear by their racking, writhing, wrenching, and monstrously injuring of God's holy scripture, as appeareth in the pope's law. But I dwell here now in a school of obliviousness. Fare you well, once again, and be you stedfast, immoveable, in the Lord. Paul loved Timothy marvellously well, notwithstanding he saith unto him: 'Be thou partaker of the afflictions of the gospel: and, again, harden thyself to suffer afflictions. Be faithful unto the death, and I will give thee a crown of life, saith the Lord.'"

Thus did these venerable men prepare each other for the conflict that lay before them, and which they well knew must terminate either in disgrace or death. From the queen and her ministers they had no favour to expect, and the ecclesiastics now in power, were of a character little likely to be moved by any respect for learning, age, or virtue. It was now their day, and they were resolved to make the most of the opportunity it afforded of avenging themselves, for the degradation they had suffered. Still some deference was due to public opinion, and policy demanded a colourable pretext for the scene of blood that was already meditated. Nothing seemed better adapted to the purpose, than a disputation between the leading men of the protestant party, and a body of Catholic divines. Accordingly, Oxford was pitched upon for this solemn farce, and thither Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer were removed, to defend the cause of the reformation, against a host of the ablest champions, selected from both universities. But while the popish advocates were armed, at all points, and supported by the government, the protestant sufferers were kept in

close confinement, without being allowed to communicate with each other, or even to have the use of such books as they needed.

The case of these illustrious confessors, therefore, was not very different from that of the holy Ignatius, who was sent from Antioch to Rome, that he might afford sport to the people, and become a prey to the lions. Our English martyrs, in this their exigency, like the saint of old, had recourse to prayer, in which they spent several hours every day; and Latimer, in particular, would often continue kneeling till he was unable to rise without help.

Of the proceedings at Oxford, Fox has given a narrative which could not well be abridged without weakening its effect. It is characteristic of the age, and of the parties, and therefore deserves a serious perusal:—

About the 10th of April, 1554, says the historian, Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, Ridley, bishop of London, and Hugh Latimer, bishop also sometime of Worcester, were conveyed as prisoners from the Tower to Windsor, and after from thence to the university of Oxford, there to dispute with the divines and learned men of both the universities, Oxford and Cambridge, about the presence, substance, and sacrifice of the sacrament. The names of the university doctors and graduates appointed to dispute against them were these; of Oxford, Dr. Weston, prolocutor, Dr. Tresham, Dr. Cole, Dr. Oglethorpe, Dr. Pie, M. Harpsfield, M. Fecknam. Of Cambridge, Dr. Young, vice-chancellor, Dr. Glin, Dr. Seaton, Dr. Watson, Dr. Sedgwicke, Dr. Atkinson, &c*.

* The following notices will throw light upon the characters of these commissioned disputants on the popish side of the question:—*Hugh Weston*, the prolocutor, was a native of Leicestershire, and first a student of Baliol college, afterwards fellow and rector of Lincoln College, Oxford. He also became Margaret professor of divinity, archdeacon of Colchester, and rector of Cliffe in Kent. In the first year of Queen Mary, he obtained the deanry of Westminster, but soon after was removed to that of Windsor, of which he was deprived by cardinal Pole, for adultery. Upon this he appealed to the pope, for which he was sent to the Tower, where he died in 1558. On account of his fluency as an orator, he was chosen prolocutor of the convocation, but his character was infamous, and his conduct towards the three protestant prelates shews him to have had a most malignant spirit.

William Tresham, a native of Northamptonshire, became probationer fellow

The articles or questions whereupon they should dispute were these :

of Merton college in 1515. Afterwards he was made canon of Christ church, for his zeal in defending the divorce of Henry VIII., from Catherine of Arragon. He was also appointed commissary, or vice-chancellor of the university, which situation he filled several years. In 1549, he held a disputation with Peter Martyr, on the doctrine of the real presence, which circumstance shews the lenity of the government of Edward VI. towards the Romanists. On the accession of Elizabeth, Dr. Tresham was deprived of his preferments, but on giving security for his peaceable behaviour, he was suffered to live upon his estate at Bugbrook in Northamptonshire, where he died in 1569.

Dr. Henry Cole, a time-serving divine, was born in the Isle of Wight, and educated at Winchester school, from whence he removed to New College, Oxford, where he obtained a fellowship, but resigned it on being admitted an advocate of the Court of Arches. In 1542, he was elected to the wardenship of New College, with which he held the rectory of Newton Longueville in Buckinghamshire. In the reign of Edward VI., he complied with the reformation, and affected to be a great admirer of Peter Martyr. But on the accession of Mary, he became as zealous for popery, in which he was made provost of Eton College. Soon after he was made dean of St. Paul's, of which preferment he was deprived by Queen Elizabeth, and died in prison in 1579.

Queen Oglethorpe, a native of Yorkshire, became fellow of Magdalen College in 1526; and in 1535, president of that house. About the same time he was made one of the canons of Christ Church; and in 1540, canon of Windsor. He continued to hold all his preferments during the reign of king Edward, though his principles were generally suspected. In 1553, he obtained the deanry of Windsor, which dignity he was suffered to hold with the bishopric of Carlisle, being consecrated in 1556. On the accession of queen Elizabeth, he gave another proof of his pliant disposition, by putting the crown upon her head, after the other bishops had refused to perform the ceremony. Notwithstanding this, he was deprived of the see of Carlisle the following year, and died soon after of an apoplexy.

William Pye was a native of Suffolk, and fellow of Oriel College, where at first he studied physic, but left that faculty for divinity, and in 1545, became archdeacon of Berkshire. In the reign of Edward he wore the mask of protestantism, which he threw off on the accession of Mary, and was made dean of Chichester. He died in 1557.

John Harpsfield was born in London, and educated at Winchester school, from whence he was elected to a fellowship in New College in 1534. His character may be estimated from his connexion with Bonner, to whom he became chaplain; and who gave him the archdeaconry of London, in which situation he equalled his patron in barbarity. In 1558, he was appointed dean of Christ Church; but queen Mary dying soon after, he lost that place, and was sent to the Fleet prison, where he remained some time, and then obtained his release on giving security for his good behaviour. He died in 1578.

John Feckenham was born of poor parents whose name was Howman, but he obtained that of Feckenham from the place of his nativity in Worcestershire. He had his education in the monastery of Evesham, the abbot of which sent him to Gloucester Hall in Oxford. On entering into orders, he became chaplain to

1st. Whether the natural body of Christ is really in the sacrament, after the words spoken by the priest or no?

2nd. Whether in the sacrament, after the words of consecration, any other substance do remain, than the substance of the body and blood of Christ?

3rd. Whether in the mass be a sacrifice propitiatory for the sins of the quick and the dead?

Touching the order and manner of all things there done, with the notes, arguments, and circumstances thereunto pertaining, to deduce the matter from the beginning; first, here is to be understood, that upon Saturday, the seventh day of April, the heads of the colleges in Cambridge being congregate together, letters coming down from Steven Gar-

Bell, bishop of Worcester, and afterwards to Bonner, bishop of London; but when his patron was deposed in the reign of Edward VI., Feckenham was sent to the Tower. On the accession of Mary, he obtained his liberty, and the deanry of St. Paul's, which he soon afterwards exchanged for the Abbey of Westminster, then a mitred dignity. Feckenham attended lady Jane Grey after her condemnation, but the arguments of the doctor were too weak to shake the faith of that miracle of her sex. When Elizabeth came to the throne, the abbot was deprived of his preferment; and after several removals from one place of confinement to another, he finished his course in the castle of Wisbeach in Cambridgeshire, in 1585.

Dr. *John Young*, or *Giovannus*, (as Wood calls him,) was master of Pembroke Hall, and vice-chancellor of Cambridge. He was a native of Yorkshire, but a man of little note.

Dr. *William Glynn* was master of Queen's College, Cambridge, and archdeacon of Anglesey. In 1555 he became bishop of Bangor. He died a little before queen Mary.

Dr. *John Seaton*, fellow of St. John's College, and prebendary of Winchester, obtained great reputation on account of the methodical book of logic which he composed for the use of the junior scholars of the university of Cambridge.

Dr. *Thomas Watson* was master of St. John's College, Cambridge, and chaplain to bishop Gardiner. In 1553, he was made dean of Durlam, and in 1557, bishop of Lincoln, from which see he was removed by queen Elizabeth, and sent to the castle of Wisbeach, where he died in 1584. He was a good Latin poet, but a man of austere manners.

Dr. *Thomas Sedgwick* was the royal professor of divinity at Cambridge.

Dr. *Richard Atkinson* was provost of King's College.

Besides these divines here mentioned by Fox, there were two others from the University of Cambridge, *vis.*, Dr. *Cuthbert Scot*, master of Christ's College, and prebendary of York. He afterwards became bishop of Chester. The second was Dr. *Albert Langdale* of St. John's College, archdeacon of Lewes, and prebendary of York. He wrote a book in Latin against bishop Ridley's "*Assertio de Cæna Domini*."—Wood's *Atten. Oxon.*

diner, lord chancellor, were read with articles therewith annexed, that should be disputed upon at Oxford: the contents of which three articles are sufficiently expressed before. Whereupon in the said congregation of the aforesaid university of Cambridge, there was granted first a grace in this form proposed by the senior proctor: *Placeat vobis ut instrumentum fiat; quod horum jam prælectorum articulorum doctrina sana sit et catholica, atque cum veritate orthodoxæ fidei consentiens, et vestro consensu, et suffragiis comprobetur?* that is, may it please you to have an instrument made that the doctrine of these foresaid articles may be sound and catholic, and consonant with the verity of the right meaning faith, and that the same may be approved by your consent and voices. Secondly, in the said congregation another grace was given and granted, that Dr. Young being vice-chancellor, Dr. Glin, Dr. Atkinson, Dr. Scot, and M. Sedgwicke, should go to Oxford to defend the said articles against Canterbury, London, and Latimer; also to have letters to the Oxford men, sealed with their common seal. Item, another grace granted to M. Sedgwicke to be actual doctor, being thereupon immediately admitted. The foresaid letters being then drawn out, the third day after, (which was the eleventh day of April), were read in the foresaid congregation house, and there sealed. Whereupon the next day after, (the twelfth of the said month,) the foresaid doctors, with the full grace of that university, set forward to Oxford, and coming thither the next day after, (being Friday the thirteenth of April,) were lodged all at the Cross Inn, with one Wakeline, being some time servant to bishop Bonner. Anon, after their coming Dr. Croke presented them with wine for their welcome, and shortly after two of the beadles came from the vice-chancellor of Oxford, and presented the vice-chancellor of Cambridge with a dish of apples and a gallon of wine: After whom next came M. Pie and Fecknam to welcome them. Then, after consultation concerning the delivery of their letters and instrument of grace, (which was in Doctor Seton and Doctor Watson's keeping), they went all to Lincoln college, to Doctor Weston, the prolocutor, and to the vice-chan-

cellor, Doctor Tresham: and there they delivered their letters, and declared what they had done touching the articles, letters, and graces. Half an hour after eight they returned to their inn again: but first they concluded of a procession, sermon, and convocation to be had the morrow following: and that the doctors of Cambridge should be incorporate in the university of Oxford, and likewise that the doctors of Oxford should be incorporate in the university of Cambridge. The same day the forenamed prisoners were dissevered, . Doctor Ridley to alderman Irish's house, Master Latimer to another, and Doctor Cranmer remained still in Bocardo*.

On Saturday, being the 14th of April, at eight of the clock, the vice-chancellor of Cambridge, with the other doctors of the same university repaired to Lincoln college, and found the prolocutor above in a chapel, with the company of the house, singing requiem mass, and tarried there until the end. Then, they consulting all together in the master's lodging, about nine of the clock came all to the university church, called St. Mary's; and there, after short consultation in a chapel, the vice-chancellor, the prolocutor, &c., of Oxford, caused the vice-chancellor of Cambridge, and the rest of the doctors of that university, to send for their scarlet robes, brought from Cambridge, save that Doctors Seton and Watson borrowed of the Oxford men. And in this time the regents in the congregation-house had granted all the Cambridge doctors their graces, to be incorporate there, and so they

* The Bocardo was a dismal prison over the north gate of the city of Oxford. When that structure was taken down in 1771, the door of the cell where the protestant martyrs were confined, was preserved and transferred to the new bridewell, having the following inscription on it:

"This door was at the entrance of a cell in the old city gaol Bocardo, called the bishop's room, wherein the bishops Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, were confined, and from whence they were taken to suffer martyrdom in the town ditch, behind the houses, opposite Baliol College, in the reign of queen Mary." Above this inscription are the three portraits of the martyrs, burnt in wood, by an ingenious man of Oxford. There is, however, a slight error in the inscription, for Cranmer alone was taken from the Bocardo to the stake; the other prelates who suffered together some time before, having been separately confined in the houses of two officers of the city.

went up and were admitted immediately, Dr. Oglethorpe presenting them, and the proctor reading the statute, and giving them their oaths. That done, they came all into the choir, and there held the convocation of the university. They had mass of the Holy Ghost solemnly sung in prick-song, by the choir men of Christ's church. But first, the cause of the convocation was opened in English, partly by the vice-chancellor, and partly by the prolocutor, declaring that they were sent by the queen, and wherefore they were sent : and caused Master Say, the register, openly to read the commission. That done, the vice-chancellor read the Cambridge letters openly, and then concluded, that three notaries, Master Say for the convocation, a beadle of Cambridge for that university, and one Master White for Oxford should testify of their doing ; and then willed the said notaries to provide parchment, that the whole assembly might subscribe to the articles, save those that had subscribed before in the convocation-house at London and Cambridge : and so the vice-chancellor began first, after him the rest of the Oxford men, as many as could in the mass time.

The mass being done, they went in procession. First, the choir men in their surplices followed the cross : then the first-year regents and proctors ; then the doctors of law, and their beadle before them ; then the doctors of divinity, of both universities intermingled, the divinity and art beadles going before them, the vice-chancellor and prolocutor going together. After them bachelors of divinity, regents, and non-regents, in their array ; and last of all, the bachelors of law and art. After them followed a great company of scholars and students, not graduate. And thus they proceeded through the street to Christ's church, and there the choir sung a psalm, and after that a collect was read. This done, departed the commissioners, doctors and many other, to Lincoln college, where they dined with the mayor of the town, one alderman, four beadles, Master Say, and the Cambridge notary. After dinner, they went all again to St. Mary's church : and there after a short consultation in a chapel all the commissioners came into the choir, and sat all on seats before the altar, to the number

of thirty-three persons. And first, they sent to the mayor, that he should bring in Doctor Cranmer, which within a while was brought to them with a number of rusty bill-men. Thus the reverend archbishop, when he was brought before the commissioners, revered them with much humility, and stood with his staff in his hand, who, notwithstanding his having a stool offered him, refused to sit. Then the prolocutor sitting in the midst in a scarlet gown, began with a short preface or oration, in praise of unity, and especially in the church of Christ, declaring withal Cranmer's bringing up, and taking degrees in Cambridge, and also how he was promoted by king Henry, and had been his counsellor, and a catholic man, one of the same unity and a member thereof in times past; but of late years did separate and cut off himself from it, by teaching and setting forth of erroneous doctrine, making every year a new faith: and therefore it pleased the queen's grace, to send them of the convocation, and other learned men to bring him to this unity again, if it might be. Then shewed he him how they of the convocation house had agreed upon certain articles, whereunto they willed him to subscribe.

The archbishop answered to the preface very wittily, modestly, and learnedly, shewing that he was very glad of an unity, forasmuch as it was *Conservatrix omnium rerum publicarum, tam Ethnicorum, quam Christianorum*, "the preserver of all commonwealths, as well of the heathen, as of the Christians:" and so he dilated the matter with one or two stories of the Romans' commonwealth, which thing when he had done, he said that he was very glad to come to an unity, so that it were in Christ, and agreeable to his holy word.

When he had thus spoken his full mind the prolocutor caused the articles to be read unto him, and asked him if he would grant and subscribe unto them. Then the bishop of Canterbury did read them over three or four times, and touching the first article, he asked what they meant by these terms, *verum et naturale*, "true and natural." "Do you not mean," saith he, "*Corpus organicum*, 'a sensible body?'" Some answered, "*Idem quod natus est ex Virgine*, 'the same that was born of the Virgin;'" and so confusedly,

some said one thing, some another. Then the bishop of Canterbury denied it utterly, and when he had looked upon the other two, he said they were all false, and against God's holy word; and therefore would not agree, he said, in that unity with them. Which done, the prolocutor first willing him to write his mind of them that night, said, moreover, that he should dispute on them, and caused a copy of the articles to be delivered him, assigning him to answer thereunto, on Monday next; and so charged the mayor with him again, to be had to Bocardo, where he was kept before: offering moreover unto him, to name what books he would occupy, and he should have them brought unto him. The archbishop was greatly commended of every body for his modesty; insomuch that some masters of art were seen to weep for him, which in judgment were contrary to him.

Then was Doctor Ridley brought in, who hearing the articles read unto him, answered without any delay, saying, they were all false; and said further, that they sprang out of a bitter and sour root. His answers were witty, sharp and very learned. Then did they lay to his charge a sermon that he made when he was bishop of Rochester, wherein, they said, he spake with transubstantiation. He denied it utterly, and asked whether they could bring out any that heard him, which would say and affirm with them the same. They could bring no proof of it at all. After that he was asked of one whether he desired not my lord chancellor that now is, to stick to the mass, and other things? He said, that my lord would say no such things or words of him; for if he did, he reported not the truth of him.

Then he was asked whether he would dispute or not? He answered, that as long as God gave him life, he should not only have his heart, but also his mouth and pen to defend his truth; but he required time and books. They said, he could not; and that he should dispute on Tuesday, and till that he should have books. He said it was not reason that he might not have his own books, and time also to look for his disputations. Then gave they him the articles, and bad him write his mind of them that night, and so did they command the mayor to have him from whence he came.

Last of all came in Master Latimer, in like sort, with

a kerchief, and two or three caps on his head, his spectacles hanging by a string at his breast, and a staff in his hand, and was set in a chair; for so was he suffered by the prolocutor. And after his denial of the articles, when he had Wednesday appointed for disputation, he alleged age, sickness, disuse, and lack of books, saying that he was almost as meet to dispute as to be a captain of Calais. But he would, he said, declare his mind, either by writing or by word, and would stand to all that they could lay upon his back; complaining, moreover, that he was permitted to have neither pen nor ink, nor yet any book, only the New Testament there in his hand, which he said he had read over seven times deliberately, and yet could not find the mass in it, neither the marrow-bones nor sinews of the same. At which words the commissioners were not a little offended, and Doctor Weston said that he would make him grant that it had both marrow-bones and sinews in the New Testament. To whom Mr. Latimer said again, "that you will never do, Master Doctor," and so forthwith they put him to silence, so that where he was desirous to tell what he meant by these terms, he could not be suffered. There was a very great press and throng of people, and one of the beadles swooned by reason thereof, and was carried into the vestry. After this, bringing home, the prolocutor first, the Cambridge men, Doctor Young, vice-chancellor, Seton, Glin, Atkinson, Scott, Watson, and Sedgwick, went to the Cross Inn to supper. And this was on Saturday, being the fourteenth day of April.

On Sunday after, Mr. Harpsfield preached at St. Mary's, the university church, at nine of the clock, where were divers of the doctors of the university, in their robes, and placed accordingly. After the sermon they went all to Magdalen college, and there had a great dinner. They supped at Lincoln college, with the prolocutor, whither Doctor Cranmer sent answer of his mind upon the articles, in writing.

On Monday morning, being the sixteenth of April, Master Say and Master White, notaries, went about in the morning to the colleges, to get subscriptions to the articles. And about eight of the clock the prolocutor with all the doctors and the vice-chancellor met together at Exeter

College, and so they went into the schools ; and when the vice-chancellor, the prolocutor, and doctors, were placed, and four appointed to be *Exceptores argumentorum*, set at a table in the midst, and four notaries sitting with them, Dr. Cranmer came to the answerer's place, the mayor and aldermen sitting by him. Then Dr. Weston, prolocutor, apparelled in a scarlet gown, after the custom of the university, began the disputation with an oration, saying, in Latin, *Convenistis hodie fratres profligaturi detestandam illam hæresin de veritate corporis Christi in Sacramento, &c.* ; that is, " Ye are assembled hither, brethren, this day, to confound the detestable heresy of the verity of the body of Christ in the Sacrament, &c." At which words, thus pronounced, of the prolocutor unawares, divers of the learned men there present, considering and well weighing the words by him uttered, burst out into a great laughter, as though even in the entrance of the disputations he had betrayed himself and his religion, that termed the opinion of the verity of Christ's body a detestable heresy*. The rest of his oration tended all to this effect, that it was not lawful by God's word, to call these questions into controversy : for such as doubted of the words of Christ, might well be thought to doubt both of the truth and power of God. Whereunto Dr. Cranmer, desiring license, answered in this wise. " We are assembled," saith he, " to discuss these doubtful controversies, and to lay them open before the eyes of the world ; whereof ye think it unlawful to dispute. It is indeed no reason that we should dispute of that which is determined upon, before the truth is tried. But if these questions be not called in controversy, surely mine answer then is looked for in vain." This was the sum and effect of his answer, and this done he prepared himself to disputation.

Then Chedsey†, the first opponent began in this wise to

* Bishop Jewel, who was one of the notaries at this disputation, confirms the account of Weston's singular blunder, and says, " God would have him utter some truth then, because he was *Pontifex illius anni*.—JEWEL'S *Works*, p. 17.

† Dr. William Chedsey was a native of Somersetshire, fellow of Corpus Christi College, and chaplain to Bonner, who made him archdeacon of Middlesex. Queen Mary appointed him canon of Christ Church, and he was also elected president of his college. He died in the Fleet about 1561.

dispute: "Reverend, M. Doctor, these conclusions are put forth unto us at this present to dispute upon. 1. In the sacrament of the altar is the natural body of Christ, conceived of the Virgin Mary, and also his blood, present really under the forms of bread and wine, by virtue of God's word, pronounced by the priest. 2. There remaineth no substance of bread and wine after the consecration, nor any other substance, but the substance of God and man." 3. The lively sacrifice of the church is in the mass, propitiatory as well for the quick as the dead."

These be the conclusions propounded, whereupon this our present controversy doth rest. Now to the end we might not doubt how you take the same, you have already given up unto us your opinion, thereof. I term it your opinion, in that it disagreeeth from the catholic. Wherefore thus I argue :

Your opinion differeth from the scripture.

Ergo, you are deceived.

Cranmer. I deny the antecedent.

Chedley. Christ, when he instituted his last supper, spake to his disciples, *Take, eat, this is my body, which shall be given for you.*

But his true body was given for us.

Ergo, his true body is in the sacrament.

The right form of this argument is thus to be framed :

The same which was given for us is in the sacrament.

But his true body was given for us.

Ergo, his true body is in the sacrament.

Cran. His true body is truly present to them that truly receive him : but spiritually. And so it is taken after a spiritual sort. For when he said, "This is my body," it is all one as if he had said, this is the breaking of my body, this is the shedding of my blood. As oft as you shall do this, it shall put you in remembrance of the breaking of my body, and the shedding of my blood ; that as truly as you receive this sacrament, so truly shall you receive the benefit promised by receiving the same worthily.

Ched. Your opinion differeth from the church, which saith, that the true body is in the sacrament.

Ergo, your opinion therein is false.

Cran. I say and agree with the church, that the body of Christ is in the sacrament effectually, because the passion of Christ is effectual.

Ched. Christ, when he spake these words, "This is my body," spake of the substance but not of the effect.

Cran. "I grant he spake of the substance, and not of the effect, after a sort: and yet it is most true that the body of Christ is effectually in the sacrament. But I deny that he is there truly present in bread, or that under the bread is his organical body."

And, because it should be too tedious, he said, to make discourse of the whole, he delivered up there his opinion thereof to Dr. Weston, written at large, with answers to every one of their propositions, which he desired the doctor sitting there on high to read openly to the people, which he promised to do. But it was not the first promise that such papists have broken.

The copy of this writing, although it were not there read, yet the contents thereof we have drawn out as followeth:—

An Explication of Cranmer upon the foresaid conclusions exhibited in writing.

In the assertions of the church, and of religion, trifling and new fangled novelties of words, so much as may be, are to be eschewed, whereof riseth nothing but contention and brawling about words, and we must follow so much as we may the manner of speaking of the scripture. In the first conclusion, if ye understand by this word (*really*) *re ipsa*, in very deed and effectually, so Christ, by the grace and efficacy of his passion is in deed and truly present to all his true and holy members. But if ye understand by this word (*really*) *corporaliter*, corporally, so that by the body of Christ is understood a natural body, and organical; so the first proposition doth vary, not only from the usual speech and phrase of scripture, but also is clean contrary to the holy word of God, and Christian profession; when, as both the scripture doth testify by these words, and also the Catholic church hath professed from the beginning, Christ to have left the world, and to sit at the right hand of the

Father till he come to judgment. And likewise, I answer to the second question: that is, that it swerveth from the accustomed manner and speech of scripture.

The third conclusion, as it is intricate and wrapped in all doubtful and ambiguous words, and differing also much from the true speech of the scripture, so as the words thereof seem to import in open sense, it is most contumelious against our only Lord and Saviour Christ Jesus, and a violating of his precious blood, which upon the altar of the cross is the only sacrifice and oblation for the sins of all mankind.

Chedsey, in reply to the explication of the archbishop, said, "By this your interpretation which you have made upon the first conclusion, this I understand, the body of Christ, to be in the sacrament only by way of participation, insomuch as we communicating thereof, do participate the grace of Christ, so that you mean hereby only the effect thereof. But our conclusion standeth upon the substance, and not the efficacy only, which shall appear by the testimony both of scriptures, and of all the fathers a thousand years after Christ. And first to begin with the scriptures, let us consider what is written in Matt. 26, Mark 14, Luke 22, first to the Corinthians 11. Matthew saith, "As they sat at supper, Jesus took bread," &c. In Mark there is the same sense, although not the same words: who also for one part of the sacrament, speaketh more plainly, "Jesus taking bread," &c. After the same sense also writeth Luke 22, "And when Jesus had taken bread," &c. In the mouth of two or three witnesses, saith the scripture, standeth all truth. Here we have three witnesses together that Christ said that to be his body which was given for many; and that to be his blood which should be shed for many: whereby is declared the substance and not only the efficacy alone thereof. *Ergo*, it is not true that you say there to be not the substance of his body, but the efficacy alone thereof.

Cran. Thus you gather upon mine answer as though I did mean of the efficacy, and not of the substance of the body: but I mean of them both; as well of the efficacy as the substance. And for so much as all things come not

readily to memory, to a man that shall speak extempore, therefore for the more ample and fuller answer in this matter, this writing here I do exhibit, "Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, at the time of his maundy*, preparing himself to die for our cause, that he might redeem us from eternal death, to forgive us all our sins, and to cancel out the hand-writing that was against us: that we through ingrateful oblivion should not forget his death, therefore he at the time of his holy supper did institute a perpetual memory of this his death, to be celebrated among Christians in bread and wine, according as it is said, "*Do this in remembrance of me.*" And so often as you shall eat this bread, and drink this cup, you shall shew forth the Lord's death till he come. And this remembrance or sacrament of his holy passion, that is, of his body slain, and blood shed, he would all christians to frequent and celebrate in bread and wine, according as he said, "Take, eat," and "drink ye all of this." Therefore, whosoever for man's tradition denieth the cup of Christ's blood to laymen, they manifestly repugn against Christ, forbidding that which Christ commandeth to be done, and be like to those Scribes and Pharisees of whom the Lord spake: "Ye hypocrites, ye have rejected the commandments of God for your traditions. Well did Esay prophesy of you, saying, This people honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me. Without cause do they worship me, teaching the doctrines and precepts of men."

The sacrament and mystical bread being broken and distributed after the institution of Christ, and the mystical wine being likewise taken and received; be not only sacraments of the flesh of Christ wounded for us, and of his blood-shedding, but also be most certain sacraments to us, and (as a man would say), seals of God's promises and gifts, and also of that holy fellowship, which we have with Christ; and all his members. Moreover, they be to us memorials of that heavenly food and nourishment where-with we are nourished unto eternal life, and the thirst of

* This seems to settle the true meaning of the word *Maunday*, on which etymologists differ. The archbishop certainly adopts it in the sense of dolour, complaining and such the *nox tenebrosa* was in every respect.

our boiling conscience quenched : and finally whereby the hearts of the faithful be replenished with unspeakable joy, and be corroborated and strengthened unto all works of godliness. " We are many (saith Paul), one bread and one body, all we which do participate of one bread and one cup." And Christ saith, " Eat ye, this is my body. And drink ye, this is my blood." And " I am the living bread which came down from heaven. He that eateth me shall also live for me : not as your fathers did eat manna in the desert, and are dead. He that eateth me, shall also live for me."

Thus, therefore, true bread and true wine remain still in the eucharist, until they be consumed of the faithful, to be signs and as seals unto us annexed unto God's promises, making us certain of God's gifts towards us. Also Christ remaineth in them, and they in Christ, which eat his flesh and drink his blood, as Christ himself hath promised, " They that eat my flesh and drink my blood abide in me, and I in them." Moreover he abideth also in them which worthily receive the outward sacrament, neither doth he depart so soon as the sacrament is consumed, but continually abideth, feeding and nourishing us so long as we remain bodies of that head, and members of the same. I acknowledge not here the natural body of Christ, which is only spiritual, intelligible and unsensible, having no distinction of members and parts in it : but that body only I acknowledge and worship, which was born of the Virgin, which suffered for us, which is visible, palpable, and hath all the form and shape and parts of the true natural body of man. Christ spake not these words of any uncertain substance, but of the certain substance of bread, which he then held in his hands, and shewed his disciples, when he said, " Eat ye, this is my body ;" and likewise of the cup, when he said, " Drink ye, this is my blood : " meaning verily of that bread which by nature is usual and common with us, which is taken of the fruit of the ground, compacted by the uniting of many grains together, made by man, and by man's hand brought to that visible shape, being of round compass, and without all sense of life, which nourisheth the body, and strengtheneth the heart of man. Of this

same bread (I say), and not of any uncertain and wandering substance, the old fathers say that Christ spake these words, "Eat ye, this is my body." And likewise also of the wine, which is the creature and fruit of the vine pressed out of many clusters of grapes, and maketh man's heart merry, of the very same wine (I say) Christ spake "Drink ye, this is my blood." And so the old doctors do call this speaking of Christ, tropical, figurative, anagogical, allegorical: which they do interpret after this sort that although the substance of bread and wine do remain, and be received of the faithful, yet notwithstanding Christ changed the appellation thereof, and called the bread by the name of his flesh, and the wine by the name of his blood, not that it is so in very deed, but signified in a mystery. So that we should consider, not what they be in their own nature, but what they import to us and signify; and should understand the sacrament not carnally, but spiritually; and should attend not to the visible nature of the sacraments, neither have respect only to the outward bread and cup, thinking to see there with our eyes, no other things but only bread and wine, but that lifting up our minds, we should look up to the blood of Christ with our faith, should touch him with our mind, and receive him with our inward man; and that being like eagles in this life, we should fly up into heaven in our hearts, where that Lamb is resident at the right hand of his Father, which taketh away the sins of the world, by whose stripes we are made whole, by whose passion we are filled at his table, and whose blood we, receiving out of his holy side, do live for ever, being made the guests of Christ, having him dwelling in us through the grace of his true nature, and through the virtue and efficacy of his whole passion, being no less assured and certified that we are fed spiritually unto eternal life by Christ's flesh crucified, and by his blood shed, the true food of our minds, than that our bodies be fed with meat and drink in this life; and hereof this said mystical bread on the table of Christ, and the mystical wine, being administered and received after the institution of Christ, is to us a memorial, a pledge, a token, a sacrament, and a seal. And therefore is it that Christ saith

not thus: "This is my body, eat ye;" but after he had bidden them eat, then he said, "This is my body which shall be given for you." Which is to mean, as though he should say, in eating of this bread, consider you that this bread is no common thing, but a mystical matter, neither do you attend that which is set before your bodily eyes, but what feedeth you within: consider and behold my body, crucified for you; that eat and digest in your minds. Chew you upon my passion, be fed with my death. This is the true meat, this is the drink that moisteneth, wherewith you being truly fed, and inebriate, shall live for ever. The bread and the wine which be set before your eyes are only declarations of me, but I myself am the eternal food. Wherefore, whensoever at this my table you shall behold the sacraments, have not regard so much to them as consider ye what I promise to you by them, which is myself to be meat for you of eternal life. The only oblation of Christ (wherewith he offered himself to God the Father once to death upon the altar of the cross for our redemption), was of such efficacy, that there is no more need of any sacrifice for the redemption of the whole world, but all the sacrifices of the old law he took away, performing that in very deed, which they did signify and promise. Whosoever therefore shall fix the hope of his salvation in any other sacrifice, he falleth from the grace of Christ, and is contumelious against the blood of Christ. "For he was wounded for our transgressions, and was broken for our iniquities. All we, like sheep, have wandered astray. Every man hath turned after his own way, and the Lord hath laid all our iniquities upon him. For he hath entered once for all into the holy place by the blood, not of goats or calves, but by his own blood, finding eternal redemption. And hath entered into heaven, to appear now in the sight of God for us, not to offer himself oftentimes (for so should he have suffered many times), but now hath he appeared once to put away sin through his own oblation. And as it is appointed to all men once to die, so also Christ once was offered: who offering up one oblation for sins, sitteth now for ever on the right hand of God. For by one oblation hath he made perfect for ever those that be sanc-

tified. For where is remission of sins, there is now no more oblation for sin, but this only sacrifice of Christ."

Whosoever shall seek any other sacrifice propitiatory for sin, maketh the sacrifice of Christ of no validity, force, or efficacy. For if it be sufficient to remit sins, what need is there of any other? For the necessity of another, argueth and declareth this to be insufficient. Almighty God grant that we may truly lean to one sacrifice of Christ, and that we to him again may repay our sacrifices of thanksgiving, of praise, of confessing his name, of true amendment, of repentance, of mercifulness towards our neighbours, and of all other good works of charity! For by such sacrifices we shall declare ourselves neither ingrateful to God, nor altogether unworthy of this holy sacrifice of Christ. And thus you have out of the testimonies of holy scripture, and of the ancient doctors of the church, the true and sincere use of the Lord's holy supper, and the fruit of the true sacrifice of Christ. Which, whosoever through captious or wrested interpretations, or by men's traditions, shall go about otherwise than Christ ordained them, to alter or transubstantiate, he shall answer to Christ in the latter day, when he shall understand (but then too late), that he hath no participation with the body and blood of Christ, but that out of the supper of eternal life he hath eaten and drunken eternal damnation to himself."

Weston. "Because we will not consume and spend the time in waste, this your writing which you exhibit, hereafter shall be read in its place. In the mean season let us now fall to the argument."

A disorderly disputation was then carried on, sometime in Latin, and sometime in English, almost all the Romish divines attacking the persecuted archbishop till near two o'clock, when the prolocutor put an end to the contest, by saying, "Thus you see, brethren, the truth steadfast and invincible: you see also the craft and deceit of heretics; the truth may be pressed, but it cannot be oppressed; therefore cry altogether, *Vincit veritas*, "The truth overcometh."

The meeting then broke up, the archbishop being led away to his prison by the mayor, while his persecutors

went to dine together at the University College. During this disgraceful scene, the illustrious victim of popish malice deported himself with calm dignity, and though his antagonists took frequent draughts of wine to invigorate their spirits, the archbishop refused to drink when desired so to do by the attending beadles, who seem to have had more feeling and manners than their superiors.

The following day Bishop Ridley was brought into the arena, to combat with Dr. Richard Smith*.

Weston, the prolocutor, opened the scene with this speech, "Good christian people and brethren, we have begun this day our school, by God's good speed I trust, and are entering into a controversy whereof no question ought to be moved, concerning the verity of the body of our Lord Jesu Christ in the eucharist. Christ is true which said the words. The words are true which he spake, yea truth itself that cannot fail. Let us therefore pray unto God to send down unto us his Holy Spirit, which is the true interpreter of his word; which may purge away errors, and give light that verity may appear. Let us also ask leave and liberty of the church to permit the truth received, to be called this day in question, without any prejudice to the same. Your parts, therefore, shall be to implore the assistance of Almighty God, to pray for the prosperity of the queen's majesty, and to give us quiet and attentive ears. Now go to your question."

The bishop on being called to give his answer to the first of the three articles, addressed the meeting in these words: "I received of you the other day, right worshipful

* *Richard Smith* was born in Worcestershire, and educated in Merton College, Oxford, where he obtained a fellowship. He also became registrar of the university, principal of Alban Hall, and regius professor of divinity. Of this last preferment he was deprived in 1547, to make room for Peter Martyr, and the same year he made his recantation of popery at Paul's Cross. Sometime after this he went to Louvain, where he became professor of divinity; and on the accession of Mary, he returned, and was restored to the chair at Oxford, being also appointed chaplain to the queen, and canon of Christ Church. When queen Elizabeth came to the throne, Smith was deprived of his preferments, and was committed to the custody of archbishop Parker, at Lambeth, who persuaded him to retract some of his opinions. Notwithstanding this, Smith contrived to make his escape, and went to Douay, where he was made dean of the church of St. Peter. He died in 1563.—Woon.

Mr. Prolocutor, and ye, my reverend masters, commissioners from the queen's majesty, and her honourable council, three propositions, whereunto ye commanded me to prepare against this day, what I thought good to answer concerning the same. Now, whilst I weighed with myself, how great a charge of the Lord's flock was of late committed unto me, for the which I am certain I must once render an account to my Lord God, (and that how soon he knoweth,) and that moreover by the commandment of the apostle Peter, I ought to be ready always to give a reason of the hope that is in me, with meekness and reverence unto every one that shall demand the same: besides this, considering my duty to the church of Christ, and to your worships, being commissioners by public authority: I determined with myself to obey your commandment, and to declare unto you my mind touching the foresaid propositions. And albeit plainly to confess unto you the truth in these things which ye now demand of me, I have thought otherwise in times past than now I do, yet (God I call to record unto my soul, I lie not) I have not altered my judgment, as now it is, either by constraint of any man, or laws, either for the dread of any dangers of this world, either for any hope of commodity, but only for the love of the truth, revealed unto me by the grace of God (as I am undoubtedly persuaded) in his holy word, and in the reading of the ancient fathers. These things I do the rather recite at this present, because it may happen to some of you hereafter, as in times past it hath done to me; I mean, if ye think otherwise of the matters propounded in these propositions, than I now do, God may open them unto you in time to come. But howsoever it shall be, I will in few words do that which I think ye all look I should do; that is, as plainly as I can, I will declare my judgment herein. Howbeit of this I would ye were not ignorant, and I will not indeed wittingly and willingly, speak in any point against God's word, or depart in any one jot from the same, or from the rules of faith, and Christian religion, which rules the same most sacred word of God prescribeth to the church of Christ, whereunto I now and for ever submit myself and all my doings. And because the matter I have now taken is weighty, and ye all well know how

unready I am to handle it accordingly, as well for lack of time, as also lack of books; therefore here I protest that I will publicly this day require of you, that it may be lawful for me concerning all mine answers, explications, and confirmations, to add or diminish whatsoever shall seem hereafter more convenient and meet for the purpose, through the sound judgment, better deliberation, and more exact trial of every particular thing. Having now by the way of preface and protestation spoken these few words, I will come to the answering of the propositions propounded unto me, and so to the most brief explication and confirmation of mine answers."

In reply to this declaration the prolocutor said, "Reverend Master Doctor, concerning the lack of books, there is no cause why you should complain. What books soever you will name, ye shall have them; and as concerning the judgment of your answers to be had of yourself with further deliberation; it shall, I say, be lawful for you, until Sunday next, to add unto them what you shall think good yourself. My mind is that we should use short arguments, lest we should make an infinite process of the thing."

Ridley. There is another thing besides, which I would gladly obtain at your hands. I perceive that you have writers and notaries here present. By all likelihood our disputations shall be published. I beseech you, for God's sake, let me have liberty to speak my mind freely, and without interruption, not because I have determined to protract the time with a solemn preface, but lest it may appear that some be not satisfied. God wot I am no orator, nor I have not learned rhetoric to set colours on the matter.

Weston. Among this whole company, it shall be permitted you to take two for your part.

Ridley. I would choose two, if there were any here with whom I were acquainted.

Weston. Here are two which Master Cranmer had yesterday. Take them if it please you*.

* These two notaries were John Jewell, afterwards bishop of Salisbury, and Gilbert Mounson.

Ridley. I am content with them : I trust they be honest men.

The first proposition is this : “ In the sacrament of the altar, by the virtue of God’s word spoken by the priest, the natural body of Christ, born of the Virgin Mary, and his natural blood is really present under the forms of bread and wine.”

To this the bishop answered as follows :—

“ In matters appertaining to God we may not speak according to the sense of man, nor of the world. This proposition or conclusion is framed after another manner of phrase or kind of speech than the scripture useth. Again, it is very obscure and dark, by means of sundry words of doubtful signification. And being taken in the sense which the schoolmen teach, and at this time the church of Rome doth defend, it is false and erroneous, and plain contrary to the doctrine which is according to godliness.”

The Explication.—How far the diversity and newness of the phrase in all this first proposition, is from the phrase of the holy scripture, and that in every part almost, it is so plain and evident to any that is but meanly exercised in holy writ, that I need not now (especially in this company of learned men), to spend any time therein, except the same shall be required of me hereafter. First, there is a double sense in these words (*by the virtue of God’s word*), for it is doubtful what word of God this is, whether it be that which is read in the Evangelists, or in Paul, or any other : and if it be that which is in the Evangelists or in St. Paul what that is. If it be in none of them, then how it may be known to be God’s word, and of such virtue, that it should be able to work so great a matter.

Again, there is a doubt in these words (*of the priest*), whether no man may be called a priest, but he which hath authority to make propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead ; and how it may be proved that this authority was committed of God to any man, but to Christ alone.

“ It is likewise doubted, after what order the sacrificing priest shall be, whether after the order of Aaron, or else after the order of Melchisedec : for as far as I know, the holy scripture doth allow no more.”

Weston. Let this be sufficient.

Ridley. If we lack time at this present, there is time enough hereafter.

Weston. These are but evasions or starting holes : you consume the time in vain.

Ridley. I cannot start far from you ; I am captive and bound.

Weston. Fall to it, my masters.

Smith. That which you (to Ridley) have spoken, may suffice at this present.

Ridley. Let me alone I pray you, for I have not much to say behind.

Weston. Go, forward.

Ridley. Moreover, there is ambiguity in this word *really*, whether it be to be taken as the logicians term it, *transcendentur*, that is most generally (and so it may signify any manner of thing which belongeth to the body of Christ, by any means : after which sort we also grant Christ's body to be really in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, as in disputation, if occasion be given shall be declared), or whether it be taken to signify the very same thing, having body, life, and soul, which was assumed and taken of the word of God, into the unity of person. In which sense, since the body of Christ is really in heaven, because of the true manner of his body, it may not be said to be here in the earth. There is yet a further doubtfulness in these words (*under the forms of bread and wine*), whether the forms be there taken to signify the only accidental and outward shews of bread and wine ; or therewithal the substantial natures thereof, which are to be seen by their qualities, and perceived by exterior senses. Now the error and falseness of the proposition, after the sense of the Romish church, and schoolmen, may hereby appear, in that they affirm the bread to be transubstantiated and changed into the flesh, assumed of the word of God, and that, (as they say) by the virtue of the word, which they have devised by a certain number of words and cannot be found in any of the Evangelists, or in Paul, and so they gather that Christ's body is really contained in the sacrament of the altar, which position is grounded upon the

foundation of transubstantiation: which foundation is monstrous against reason, and destroyeth the analogy or proposition of the sacraments: and therefore this proposition also, which is builded upon this rotten foundation, is false, erroneous, and to be counted as a detestable heresy of the sacramentaries."

Weston. We lose time.

Ridley. You shall have time enough.

Weston. Fall to reasoning. You shall have some other day for this matter.

Ridley. I have no more to say concerning my explication. If you will give me leave and let me alone, I will but speak a word or two for my confirmation.

Weston. Go to; say on.

Ridley. There ought no doctrine to be established in the church of God which dissenteth from the word of God, from the rule of faith, and draweth with it many absurdities that cannot be avoided.

But this doctrine of the first proposition is such.

Ergo, it ought not to be established and maintained in the church of God.

The major or first part of my argument is plain, and the minor or second part is proved thus:

This doctrine maintaineth a real, corporal, and carnal presence of Christ's flesh, assumed and taken of the word, to be in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, and that not by virtue and grace only, but also by the whole essence and substance of the body and flesh of Christ.

But such a presence disagreeeth from God's word, from the rule of faith, and cannot but draw with it many absurdities.

Ergo, the second part is true.

The first part of this argument is manifest, and the second may yet further be confirmed thus.

Weston. Thus you consume time, which might be better bestowed on other matters. Master opponent, I pray you to your arguments.

Smith. I will here reason with you upon transubstantiation, which you say is contrary to the rule and analogy of faith. The contrary whereof I prove by the scriptures,

and the doctors. But before I enter argumentation with you, I demand first, whether in the sixth chapter of John, there be any mention made of the sacrament, or of the real presence of Christ in the sacrament ?

Ridley. It is against reason, that I should be impeached to prosecute that which I have to speak in this assembly, being not so long, but that it may be comprehended in few words.

Weston. Let him read on.

Ridley. First of all, this presence is contrary to many places of the holy scripture. Secondly, it varieth from the articles of the faith. Thirdly, it destroyeth and taketh away the institution of the Lord's supper. Fourthly, it maketh precious things common to profane and ungodly persons : for it casteth that which is holy unto dogs, and pearls unto swine. Fifthly, it forceth men to maintain many monstrous miracles, without necessity and authority of God's word. Sixthly, it giveth occasion to the heretics which erred concerning the two natures of Christ, to defend their heresies thereby. Seventhly, it falsifieth the sayings of the godly fathers ; it falsifieth also the catholic faith of the church, which the apostles taught, the martyrs confirmed, and the faithful (as one of the fathers saith), do retain and keep until this day. Wherefore the second part of mine argument is true.

The probation of the antecedent or former part of this argument by the parts thereof.

“ This carnal presence is contrary to the word of God, as appeareth (John 16.) I tell you the truth : it is profitable to you that I go away, for if I go not away the Comforter shall not come unto you. (Acts 3.) Whom the heavens must receive until the time of restoring of all things which God hath spoken. (Matt. 9.) The children of the bridegroom cannot mourn so long as the bridegroom is with them : but now is the time of mourning. (John 16.) But I will see you again, and your hearts shall rejoice. (John 14.) I will come again and take you to my-

self. (Matt. 24.) If they shall say unto you, Behold here is Christ, or there is Christ, believe them not: for wheresoever the dead carcass is, thither the eagles will resort.

“ It varieth from the articles of the faith: He ascended into heaven and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father. From whence (and not from any other place, saith St. Augustine), he shall come to judge both the quick and the dead.

“ It destroyeth and taketh away the institution of the Lord’s supper, which was commanded only to be used and continued until the Lord himself should come. If therefore he be now really present in the body of his flesh, then must the supper cease, for a remembrance is not a thing present, but of a thing past and absent. And there is a difference between remembrance and presence, and (as one of the fathers saith), a figure is in vain where the thing figured is present.

“ It maketh precious things common to profane and ungodly persons, and constraineth men to confess many absurdities. For it affirmeth that whoremongers and murderers, yea and (as some of them hold opinion), the wicked and faithless, mice, rats, and dogs also may receive the only real and corporal body of the Lord, wherein the fullness of the spirit of light and grace dwelleth: contrary to the manifest words of Christ, in six places and sentences of the sixth chapter of St. John.

“ It confirmeth also and maintaineth that beastly kind of cruelty of the Anthropophagi, that is, the devourers of human flesh: for it is a more cruel thing to devour a quick man than to slay him.”

Pie. He requireth time to speak blasphemies. Leave your blasphemies.

Ridley. I had little thought to have had such reproachful words at your hands.

Weston. All is quiet. Go to the arguments, Mr. Doctor.

Ridley. I have not many more things to say.

Weston. You utter blasphemies with a most impudent face: leave off, I say, and get you to the argument.

Ridley. It forceth men to maintain many monstrous

miracles without all necessity and authority of God's word : For at the coming of this presence of the body and flesh of Christ, they thrust away the substance of bread, and affirm that the accidents remain without any subject, and in the stead thereof, they place Christ's body without his qualities, and the true manner of a body. And if the sacrament be reserved so long until it mould, and worms breed, some say that the substance of bread miraculously returneth again, and some deny it. Other some affirm that the real body of Christ goeth down into the stomach of the receivers, and doth there abide so long as they shall continue to be good : but another sort hold that the body of Christ is carried into heaven as soon as the forms of bread be bruised with the teeth. O works of miracles ! Truly and most truly I see that fulfilled in those men whereof St. Paul prophesieth (2 Thess. 2.) " Because they have not received the love of the truth, that they might be saved, God shall send them strong delusions, that they should believe lies, and be all damned which have not believed the truth." This gross presence hath brought forth that fond fantasy of concomitance whereby is broken at this day and abrogated the commandment of the Lord for the distributing of the Lord's cup to the laity. It giveth occasion to heretics to maintain and defend their errors ; as to Marcion, which said that Christ had but a phantastical body ; and to Eutyches, which wickedly confounded the two natures in Christ.

" Finally, it falsifieth the sayings of the godly fathers and the catholic faith of the church, which Vigilius a martyr, and grave writer, saith was taught of the apostles, confirmed with the blood of martyrs, and was continually maintained by the faithful until his time. By the sayings of the fathers, I mean of Justin, Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen, Eusebius, Emisenus, Athanasius, Cyril, Epiphanius, Jerom, Chrysostom, Augustin, Vigilius, Fulgentius, Bertram, and others most ancient fathers. All those places, as I am sure I have read, making for my purpose, so am I well assured that I could shew the same if I might have the use of mine own books, which I will take on me to do, even upon the peril of my life, and loss of all that I may

lose in this world.* But now, my brethren, think not because I disallow that presence, which this first proposition maintaineth as a presence, which I take to be forged, fantastical, and besides the authority of God's word, perniciously brought into the church by the Romanists, that I therefore go about to take away the true presence of Christ's body in his supper rightly and duly ministered, which is grounded upon the word of God, and made more plain by the commentaries of the faithful fathers. They that think so of me, the Lord knoweth how far they are deceived. And to make the same evident unto you, I will, in few words, declare what true presence of Christ's body in the sacrament of the Lord's supper I hold and affirm, with the word of God and the ancient fathers. I say and confess with the evangelist Luke, and with the apostle Paul, that the bread on the which thanks are given, is the body of Christ in the remembrance of him and of his death, to be set forth perpetually of the faithful until his coming. I say and confess the bread which we break to be the communion and partaking of Christ's body, with the ancient faithful fathers. I say and believe that there is not only a signification of Christ's body set forth by the sacrament, but also that therewith is given to the godly and faithful, the grace of Christ's body, that is, the food of life and immortality. And this I hold with Cyprian. I say also with St. Augustine, that we eat life, and we drink life; with Emisenus that we feel the Lord to be present in grace; with Athanasius, that we receive celestial food, which cometh from above; the property of natural communion, with Hilary; the nature of flesh and the benediction which giveth life; in bread and wine, with Cyril; and with the same Cyril, the virtue of the very

* The books meant here were the manuscript collections of the bishop; for in his conference with Latimer he says, "All my notes which I have written and gathered out of such authors as I have read in this matter, and such like, are come into the hands of such as will not let me have the least of all my written books: wherein I am enforced to complain of them unto God, for they spoil me of all my labours, which I have taken in my study these many years."

flesh of Christ, life and grace of his body, the property of the only begotten, that is to say, life, as he himself in plain words expoundeth it. I confess also with Basil, that we receive the mystical advent and coming of Christ, grace, and the virtue of his very nature : the sacrament of his very flesh, with Ambrose : the body by grace, with Epiphanius : spiritual flesh, but not that which was crucified, with Jerom ; grace flowing into a sacrifice, and the grace of the spirit, with Chrysostom : grace and invisible verity, grace and society of the members of Christ's body with Augustine. Finally, with Bertram, (which was the last of these), I confess, that Christ's body is in the sacrament in this respect ; namely (as he writeth) because there is in it the spirit of Christ, that is, the power of the word of God, which not only feedeth the soul, but also cleanseth it. But of these I suppose it may clearly appear unto all men, how far we are from that opinion, whereof some go about falsely to slander us to the world, saying we teach that the godly and faithful, should receive nothing else, at the Lord's table, but a figure of the body of Christ.

The second proposition is this, " After the consecration there remaineth no substance of bread and wine, neither any other substance, than the substance of God and man."

Now this second conclusion, is manifestly false, directly against the word of God, the nature of the sacrament, and the most evident testimonies of the godly fathers : and it is the rotten foundation of the other two conclusions propounded by you, both of the first and of the third. I will not therefore now tarry upon any further explication of this answer, being contented with that which is already added afore to the answer of the first proposition.

The first Argument.

" It is very plain by the word of God, that Christ did give bread unto his disciples, and called it his body. But the substance of bread is another manner of substance, than is the substance of Christ's body, God and man. Therefore the conclusion is false.

The second part of mine argument is plain, and the first is proved thus :

The second Argument.

“That which Christ did take, on the which he gave thanks, and the which he did break, he gave to his disciples, and called it his body :

“But he took bread, gave thanks on bread, and brake bread :

“*Ergo*, the first part is true. And it is confirmed with the authority of the fathers Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, Epiphanius, Jerom, Augustine, Theodoret, Cyril, Rabanus, and Bede : whose places I will take upon me to shew most manifest in this behalf, if I may be suffered to have my books as my request is.”

The third Argument.

“As the bread of the Lord’s table is Christ’s natural body, so is it his mystical body.

“But it is not Christ’s mystical body by transubstantiation :

“*Ergo*, it is not his natural body by transubstantiation.

“The second part of my argument is plain, and the first is proved thus : As Christ, who is the verity, spake of the bread ‘This is my body which shall be betrayed for you,’ speaking here of his natural body, even so Paul, moved with the same spirit of truth said, ‘We though we be many, yet are we all one bread, and one body, which be partakers of one bread.’”

The fourth Argument.

“We may no more believe bread to transubstantiate into the body of Christ, than the wine into his blood.

“But the wine is not transubstantiated into his blood :

“*Ergo*, neither is that bread therefore transubstantiated into his body.

“The first part of this argument is manifest, and the second part is proved out of the authority of God’s word in Matthew and Mark : ‘I will not drink of the fruit of

the vine,' &c. Now the fruit of the vine was wine, which Christ drank and gave to his disciples to drink. With this sentence agreeth plainly the place of Chrysostom on the xxth chapter of Matthew. As Cyprian doth also, affirming that there is no blood, if wine be not in the cup."

The fifth Argument.

"The words of Christ, spoken upon the cup and upon the bread, have like effect and working.

"But the words spoken upon the cup have not virtue to transubstantiate:

Ergo, it followeth that the words spoken upon the bread, have no such virtue.

"The second part of the argument is proved; because they should then transubstantiate the cup, or that which is in the cup into the New Testament: but neither of these things can be done, and very absurd it is to confess the same."

The sixth Argument.

"The circumstances of the scripture, the analogy and proportion of the sacraments, and the testimony of the faithful fathers do most effectually and plainly prove a figurative speech in the words of the Lord's supper:

Ergo, a figurative sense and meaning is specially to be received in these words, 'This is my body.'

"The circumstances of the scripture, 'Do this in remembrance of me. As oft as ye shall eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, ye shall shew forth the Lord's death. Let a man prove himself, and so eat of this bread and drink of this cup. They came together to break bread: and they continued in breaking of bread. The bread which we break, &c. For we being many are all one bread, and one body, &c.'

"The analogy of the sacraments is necessary; for if the sacraments had not some similitude or likeness of the things whereof they be sacraments, they could in no wise be sacraments. And this similitude in the sacrament of the Lord's supper is taken three manner of ways.

“ 1. The first consisteth in nourishing, as ye shall read in Rabanus, Cyprian, Augustine, Irenæus, and most plainly in Isidorus out of Bertram.

“ 2. The second, in the uniting and joining of many, into one, as Cyprian teacheth.

“ 3. The third is a similitude of unlike things, where, like as the bread is turned into one body, so we, by right use of this sacrament, are turned through faith into the body of Christ.

“ The sayings of the fathers declare it to be a figurative speech, as it appeareth in Origen, Tertullian, Chrysostom, *in opere imperfecto*, Augustin, Ambrose, Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, Hilary, and most plainly of all in Bertram. Moreover the sayings and places of all the fathers, whose names I have before recited against the assertion of the first proposition, do quite overthrow transubstantiation. But of all other most evidently and plainly, Irenæus, Origen, Cyprian, Chrysostom to Cæsarius the monk, Augustine against Adamantus, Gelasius, Cyril, Epiphanius, Chrysostom again on the xxth of Matthew, Rabanus, Damascenus, and Bertram.

“ Here, right worshipful Mr. Prolocutor, and ye the rest of the commissioners, it may please ye to understand, that I do not lean to these things only, which I have written in my former answers and confirmations, not but that I have also for the proof of which I have spoken, whatsoever Bertram, a man learned, of sound and upright judgment, and ever counted a Catholic for these seven hundred years, until this our age hath written. His treatise whosoever shall read and weigh, considering the time of the writer, his learning, godliness of life, the allegations of the ancient fathers, and his manifold and most grounded arguments, I cannot, doubtless, but much marvel, if he have any fear of God, at all, how he can with good conscience speak against him in this matter of the sacrament. This Bertram was the first that pulled men by the ears, and that first brought me from the common error of the Romish church, and caused me to search more diligently and exactly, both the scriptures, and the writings of the old

ecclesiastical fathers in this matter. And this I protest before the face of God, who knoweth I lie not in the things I now speak *."

The third Proposition.

"In the mass is the lively sacrifice of the church propitiabile and available for the sins, as well of the quick as of the dead."

The Answer to this Proposition.

I answer to this third proposition, as I did to the first. And moreover I say, that being taken in such sense as the words seem to import, it is not only erroneous, but withal so much to the derogation and defacing of the death and passion of Christ, that I judge it may and ought most worthily to be counted wicked and blasphemous against the most precious blood of our Saviour Christ.

The Explication.

Concerning the Romish mass which is used at this day, or the lively sacrifice thereof, propitiatory and available for the sins of the quick and the dead, the holy scripture hath not so much as one syllable.

There is ambiguity also in the name of mass, what it signifieth, and whether at this day there be any such indeed as the ancient fathers used; seeing that now there be neither *Catechistes* nor *Penitentes* to be sent away.

"Again, touching these words, (*the lively sacrifice of the church*) there is doubt whether they are to be understood

* Bertram or Ratram, was a monk of the abbey of Corbey in the ninth century. He wrote a book "On the Eucharist," in answer to Radbertus, who asserted a carnal or bodily presence of Christ in that sacrament, while Bertram contended for a spiritual presence only. It has been supposed by some learned Romanists, that this book was not written by Bertram, but by John Scotus Erigena, who certainly held the same opinion. The question is of no importance; but the treatise itself is valuable as shewing that the doctrine of transubstantiation was not generally received in the western church at the period when this work made its appearance. The first impression in print was in 1533 at Cologne, and it staggered the zealous papists so much that they endeavoured to invalidate it as a forgery. Father Mabillon, however, has candidly admitted its authenticity by saying he had seen a manuscript of it eight hundred years old.

figuratively and sacramentally for the sacrament of the lively sacrifice (after which sort we deny it not to be in the Lord's supper) or properly and without any figure: of the which manner there was but one only sacrifice, and that once offered, namely, upon the altar of the cross.

“ Moreover, in these words (*as well as*) it may be doubted, whether they be spoken in mockage, as men are wont to say in sport, of a foolish and ignorant person, that he is apt as well in conditions as in knowledge, being apt in neither of them both.

“ There is also a doubt in the word (*propitiable*) whether it signify here that which taketh away sin, or that which may be made available for the taking away of sin: that is to say, whether it is to be taken in the active or in the passive signification.

“ Now the falseness of the proposition, after the meaning of the schoolmen and the Romish church, and impiety, in that sense which the words seem to import, is this: that they, leaning to the foundation, and their fond transubstantiation, would make the quick and lively body of Christ's flesh, (united and knit to the divinity) to lie hid under the accidents and outward shews of bread and wine, which is very false, as I have said afore: and they, building upon this foundation do hold that the same body is offered unto God by the priest in his daily massings to put away the sins of the quick and the dead; whereas by the apostle to the Hebrews it is evident that there is but one oblation, and one true and lively sacrifice of the church offered upon the altar of the cross, which was, is, and shall be for ever the propitiation for the sins of the whole world. And where there is remission of the same, there is, (saith the apostle) no more offering for sin.”

Arguments confirming his Answer.

“ No sacrifice ought to be done but where the priest is meet to offer the same.

“ All other priests be unmeet to offer sacrifice propitiatory for sin, save only Christ.

“ *Ergo*, no other priests ought to sacrifice for sin, but Christ alone.

“ The second part of my argument is thus proved.

“ No honour in God’s church ought to be taken whereunto a man is not called, as Aaron.

“ It is a great honour in God’s church to sacrifice for sin.

“ *Ergo*, No man ought to sacrifice for sin, but only they which are called.

“ But only Christ is called to that honour.

“ *Ergo*, no other priest but Christ ought to sacrifice for sin. That no man is called to this degree of honour but Christ alone, it is evident: for there are but two only orders of priesthood allowed in the word of God: namely, the order of Aaron, and the order of Melchisedech. But now the order of Aaron is come to an end, by reason that it was unprofitable and weak; and of the order of Melchisedech there is but one priest alone, even Christ the Lord, which is the priesthood that cannot pass to any other.”

An Argument.

“ That thing is in vain, and to no effect, where no necessity is wherefore it is done.

“ To offer up any more sacrifice propitiatory for the quick and the dead, there is no necessity, for Christ our Saviour did that fully and perfectly once for all.

“ *Ergo*, to do the same in the mass, it is in vain.”

Another Argument.

“ After that eternal redemption is found and obtained, there needeth no more daily offering for the same.

“ But Christ coming, an high bishop, &c., found and obtained for us eternal redemption.

“ *Ergo*, there needeth now no more daily oblation for the sins of the quick and the dead.”

Another Argument.

“ All remission of sins cometh only by shedding of blood.

“ In the mass there is no shedding of blood.

“ *Ergo*, in the mass there is no remission of sins; and so it followeth also that there is no propitiatory sacrifice.”

Another Argument.

“ In the mass the passion of Christ is not in verity, but in a mystery, representing the same ; yea, even there where the Lord’s supper is duly ministered.

“ But where Christ suffereth not, there is he not offered in verity : for the apostle saith, *Not that he might offer up himself oftentimes, (for then must he have suffered oftentimes, sith the beginning of the world) now where Christ is not offered there is no propitiatory sacrifice.*

“ *Ergo, in the mass there is no propitiatory sacrifice : for Christ appeared once in the latter end of the world, to put sin to flight by the offering up of himself. And as it is appointed to all men, that they shall once die, and then cometh the judgment ; even so Christ was once offered to take away the sins of many. And unto them that look for him, shall he appear again without sin, unto salvation.*”

Another Argument.

“ Where there is any sacrifice that can make the comers thereunto perfect, there ought men to cease from offering any more expiatory and propitiatory sacrifices.

“ But in the New Testament there is one only sacrifice now already long since offered, which is able to make the comers thereto perfect for ever.

“ *Ergo, in the New Testament they ought to cease from offering any more propitiatory sacrifices.*”

Sentences of the Scripture tending to the same end and purpose, out of which also may be gathered other manifest Arguments, for more confirmation thereof.

“ *By the which will (saith the apostle), we are sanctified, by the offering up of the body of Jesus Christ, once for all.*” And in the same place “ *But this man after that he had offered one sacrifice for sin, sitteth for ever at the right hand of God, &c. For with one offering hath he made perfect for ever them that are sanctified, and by himself hath he purged our sins.*” I beseech you to mark these words ‘ *by himself,*’ the which well weighed, will without all doubt cease all controversy.

“ The apostle plainly denieth any other sacrifice to remain for him that treadeth under his feet the blood of the testament by the which he was made holy. Christ will not be crucified again, he will not his death to be had in derision.

“ *He hath reconciled us in the body of his flesh.*” Mark I beseech you, he saith not, in the mystery of his body; but in the body of his flesh.

“ *If any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous, and he is the propitiation for our sins, not for ours only, but for the sins of the whole world.*

“ I know that all these places of the scripture are avoided by two manner of subtle shifts; the one is by the distinction of the bloody and unbloody sacrifice, as though our unbloody sacrifice of the church were any other than the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, than a commemoration, a shewing forth, and a sacramental representation of that one only bloody sacrifice offered up once for all.

“ The other is by depraving and wresting the sayings of the ancient fathers unto such a strange kind of sense, as the fathers themselves indeed never meant. For what the meaning of the fathers was, it is evident by that which Saint Augustine writeth in his epistle to Boniface, and in the eighty-third chapter of his ninth book against Faustus, the Manichee, besides many other places; likewise by Eusebius, Emisenus, Cyprian, Chrysostom, Fulgentius, Bertram, and others, which do wholly concord and agree together in this unity in the Lord, that the redemption once made in verity for the salvation of man, continueth in full effect for ever, and worketh without ceasing unto the end of the world; that the sacrifice once offered cannot be consumed; that the Lord's death and passion is as effectual, the virtue of that blood once shed, as fresh at this day for the washing away of sins, as it was even the same day that it flowed out of the blessed side of our Saviour; and, finally, that the whole substance of our sacrifice which is frequented of the church in the Lord's supper, consisteth in prayers, praise, and giving of thanks, and in remember-

ing and shewing forth of that sacrifice once offered upon the altar of the cross ; that the same might continually be had in reverence by mystery, which once only, and no more was offered for the price of our redemption.

“ These are the things (right worshipful prolocutor, and ye the rest of the commissioners), which I could presently prepare to the answering of your three foresaid propositions; being destitute of all help in this shortness of time, sudden warning and want of books. Wherefore I appeal to my first protestation, most humbly desiring the help of the same (as much as may be) to be granted unto me. And because ye have lately given most unjust and cruel sentence against me, I do here appeal (so far forth as I may) to a more indifferent and just censure and judgment of some other superior, competent, and lawful judge, and that according to the approved state of the church of England. Howbeit I confess that I am ignorant what that is at this present, through the trouble and alteration of the state of the realm. But if this appeal may not be granted to me upon earth, then do I fly (even as to my only refuge and alone haven of health), to the sentence of the eternal judge, that is, of the Almighty God, to whose most merciful justice towards his, and most just mercifulness, I do wholly commit myself and all my cause, nothing at all despairing of the defence of mine Advocate and alone Saviour Jesus Christ, to whom, with the everlasting Father and the Holy Spirit, the sanctifier of us all, be now, and for ever, all honour and glory, *Amen*.”

“ Albeit,” says Fox, “ this learned bishop was not suffered to read all that is above prefixed before the disputations, yet because he had it then ready and offered it up to the prolocutor after the disputations and sentence pronounced: I thought here the place not unmeet to annex the same together with the rest.”

When the commissioners had sufficiently worried bishop Ridley, the venerable Latimer was brought out to dispute at eight o'clock in the morning of Wednesday the eighteenth of April.

“ There replied unto him” says the historian, “ Mr.

Smith, of Oriel College; Doctor Cartwright, Mr. Harpsfield, and divers others, had snatches at him, and gave him bitter taunts. He escaped no hissings, and scornful laughings, no more than they that went before him. He was very faint, and desired that he might not long tarry. He durst not drink for fear of vomiting. The disputation ended before eleven of the clock. Master Latimer was not suffered to read that he had, as he said, painfully written; but it was exhibited up and the prolocutor read part thereof, and so proceeded unto the disputation. He began by saying,

“Men and brethren, we are come together this day, by the help of God, to vanquish the strength of the arguments, and dispersed opinions of adversaries, against the truth of the real presence of the Lord's body in the sacrament. And, therefore, you father, if you have any thing to answer, I do admonish that you answer in short and few words.

Latimer. I pray you, good Master Prolocutor, do not exact that of me, which is not in me; I have not these twenty years much used the Latin tongue.

Weston. Take your ease, father.

Latimer. I thank you, Sir, I am well. Let me here protest my faith, for I am not able to dispute: and afterwards do your pleasure with me.”

The Protestation of Master Latimer given up in writing to Doctor Weston.

The conclusions whereunto I must answer are these:

1. The first is, that in the sacrament of the altar, by the virtue of God's word pronounced by the priest, there is really present the natural body of Christ, conceived of the Virgin Mary, under the kinds of the appearances of bread and wine; and in like manner his blood.

2. The second is, that after consecration there remaineth no substance of bread and wine, nor none other substance, but the substance of God and man.

3. The third is, that in the mass there is the lively sacrifice of the church, which is propitiable, as well for the sins of the quick as the dead.

Concerning the first conclusion, methinketh it is set forth

with certain new formed terms, that be obscure and do not sound according to the speech of the scripture. Howbeit, howsoever I understand it, this I do answer plainly, though not without peril ; I answer, I say, that to the right celebration of the Lord's Supper, there is no other presence of Christ required than a spiritual presence ; and this presence is sufficient for a christian man, as a presence by which we abide in Christ, and Christ abideth in us, to the obtaining of eternal life, if we persevere. And this same presence may be called most fitly, a real presence, that is, a presence not feigned, but a true and a faithful presence. Which thing I here rehearse, lest some sycophant or scorner should suppose me, with the anabaptists, to make nothing else of the sacrament but a naked and a bare sign. As for that which is feigned of many concerning their corporal presence, I for my part take it but for a papistical invention, therefore think it utterly to be rejected.

Concerning the second conclusion, I dare be bold to say, that it hath no stay or ground, in God's word, but is a thing invented and found out by man ; and therefore, to be taken as fond and false : and I had almost said, as the mother and nurse of the other errors. It were good for my lords and masters of the transubstantiation to take heed lest they conspire with the Nestorians ; for I do not see how they can avoid it.

The third conclusion, as I do understand it, seemeth subtilely to sow sedition against the offering which Christ himself offered for us in his own proper person, according to that pithy place of Paul, where he saith, " that Christ his own self hath made purgation of our sins." And afterwards, " that he might," saith he, " be a merciful and a faithful bishop, concerning those things which are to be done with God, for the taking away of our sins." So that the expiation or taking away of our sins, may be thought rather to depend on this, that Christ was an offering bishop, than that he was offered, were it not that he was offered of himself ; and therefore it is needless that he should be offered of any other. I will speak nothing of the wonderful presumption of man, to dare to attempt this thing without a manifest vocation, specially in that it

tendeth to the overthrowing and making fruitless, if not wholly yet partly, of the cross of Christ, for truly it is no base or mean thing, to offer Christ. And therefore worthily a man may say to my lords and masters the offerers, "By what authority do ye this? And who gave you this authority? Where? When?" "A man cannot (saith the Baptist) take any thing, except it be given him from above:" much less then may any man presume to usurp any honour, before he be thereto called. Again, "if any man sin (saith St. John) we have (saith he) not a masser or offerer at home, which can sacrifice for us at mass, but we have (saith he) an advocate Jesus Christ:" which once offered himself long ago; of which offering, the efficacy and effect is perdurable for ever, so that it is needless to have such offerers.

What meaneth Paul when he saith, "They that serve at the altar, are partakers of the altar?" and so addeth, "So the Lord hath ordained that they that preach the gospel, shall live of the gospel." Whereas he should have said, the Lord hath ordained, that they that sacrifice at mass, should live of their sacrificing, that there might be a living assigned to our sacrifices now, as was before Christ's coming, to the Jewish priests. For now they have nothing to allege for their living, as they that be preachers have. So that it appeareth that the sacrificing priesthood is changed by God's ordinance, into a preaching priesthood, and the sacrificing priesthood should cease utterly, saving inasmuch as all christian men are sacrificing priests.

The supper of the Lord was instituted to provoke us to thanksgiving, for the offering which the Lord himself did offer for us, much rather than that our offerers should do there as they do. "Feed," saith Peter, "as much as ye may the flock of Christ:" nay, rather let us sacrifice as much as we may, for the flock of Christ. If so be as the matter be as now men make it, I can never wonder enough that Peter would or could forget this office of sacrificing, which at this day is in such a price and estimation, that to feed is almost nothing with many. If thou cease from feeding the flock, how shalt thou be taken? truly catholic

enough. But if thou cease from sacrificing and massing, how will that be taken? at the least I warrant thee, thou shalt be called an heretic. And whence, I pray you, come these papistical judgments? Except perchance they think a man feedeth the flock, in sacrificing for them; and then what needeth there any learned pastors? For no man is so foolish, but soon may he learn to sacrifice and mass it.

Thus lo, I have taken the more pain to write, because I refused to dispute, in consideration of my debility thereunto: that all men may know, how that I have so done, not without great pains, having not any man to help me, as I have never before been debarred to have. O Sir, you may chance to live till you come to this age and weakness that I am of. I have spoken in my time before two kings, more than once, two, or three hours together without interruption: but now that I may speak the truth (by your leave) I could not be suffered to declare my mind before you, not by the space of a quarter of an hour, without snatches, revilings, checks, rebukes, taunts, such as I have not felt the like, in such an audience, all my life long. Surely it cannot be, but an heinous offence that I have given. But what was it? Forsooth I had spoken of the four marrow bones of the mass. The which kind of speaking I never read to be a sin against the Holy Ghost. I could not be allowed to shew what I meant by my metaphor. But, Sir, now, by your favour, I will tell your mastership what I mean. The first is the popish consecration; which hath been called a God's body making. The second is transubstantiation. The third is missal oblation. The fourth adoration. These chief and principal portions, parts, and points belonging or incident to the mass, and most esteemed and had in price in the same, I call the marrow bones of the mass; which indeed, you by force, might, and violence, intrude in sound of words in some of the scripture, with racking and cramping, injuring and wronging the same: but else indeed, plain out of the scripture, as I am thoroughly persuaded, although in disputation I could now nothing do, to persuade the same to others, being both unapt to study and also to make a shew of my

former study in such readiness as should be requisite to the same.

I have heard much talk of Master Doctor Weston to and fro in my time : but I never knew your person to my knowledge, till I came before you, as the queen's majesty's commissioner. I pray God send you so right judgment, as I perceive you have a great wit, great learning, with many other qualities. God give you grace ever well to use them, and ever to have in remembrance that he that dwelleth on high looketh on the low things on the earth : and that there is no counsel against the Lord : and also that this world hath been and yet is a tottering world. And yet again, that though we must obey the princes, yet are we limited how far : that is, so long as they do not command things against the manifest truth. But now they do. Therefore we must say with Peter and John " We must obey God before man." I mean none other resistance, but to offer our lives to the death, rather than to commit any evil against the majesty of God, and his most holy and true word. But this I say unto you, if the queen have any pernicious enemy within her realm, those they be that do cause her to maintain idolatry, and to whet her sword of justice in the blood of her people. And there be some so corrupt in mind, the faith being taken from them, that they think gain to be godliness ; great learned men, and yet men of no learning, but of railing, and raging about questions and strife of words. I call them men of no learning, because they know not Christ, how much else soever they know. And on this sort we are wont to call great learned clerks, being ignorant of Christ, unlearned men ; for it is nothing but plain ignorance, to know any thing without Christ ; whereas whoso knoweth Christ, the same hath knowledge enough, although in other knowledge he be to seek. The apostle Saint Paul confesseth of himself to the Corinthians, that he did know nothing, but Jesus Christ crucified. Many men babble many things of Christ which yet know not Christ : but pretending Christ, do craftily colour and darken his glory. " Depart from such men," saith the apostle Saint Paul to Timothy.

It is not out of the way to remember what St. Augustine

saith. The place where, I now well remember not, except it be against the epistles of Perillian : “ Whosoever,” saith he, “ teacheth any thing necessarily to be believed, which is not contained in the Old or New Testament, the same is accursed.” Oh beware of this curse if you be wise. I am much deceived if Basilius have not such like words : Whatsoever (saith he) is besides the holy scripture, if the same be taught as necessarily to be believed, that is sin.” Oh therefore take heed of this sin!

There be some that speak many false things more probable, and more like to the truth, than the truth itself. Therefore Paul giveth a watch word, “ Let no man (saith he) deceive you with probability and persuasions of words.” But what mean you, saith one, by this talk so far from the matter ? Well, I hope, good masters, you will suffer an old man a little to play the child, and to speak one thing twice. O Lord God, you have changed the most holy communion, into a private action : and you deny to the laity the Lord’s cup, contrary to Christ’s commandment ; and you do blemish the annunciation of the Lord’s death till he come : for you have changed the Common Prayer, called the divine service, with the administration of the sacraments, from the vulgar and known language, into a strange tongue, contrary to the will of the Lord revealed in his word. God open the door of your heart, to see the things you should see herein. I would as fain obey my sovereign as any in this realm ; but in these things I can never do it with an upright conscience. God be merciful unto us. Amen.

Weston. Then refuse you to dispute ? Will you here then subscribe ?

Latimer. No, good master ; I pray you be good to an old man. You may, if it please God, be once old, as I am ; ye may come to this age and to this debility.

Weston. Ye said upon Saturday last, that ye could not find the mass, nor the marrow-bones thereof, in your book ; but we will find a mass in that book.

Latimer. No, good master doctor, ye cannot.

Weston. What find you then there ?

Latimer. Forsooth, a communion I find there.

Weston. Which communion, the first or the last *?

Latimer. I find no great diversity in them : they are one supper of the Lord ; but I like the last very well.

Weston. Then the first was naught, belike ?

Latimer. I do not well remember wherein they differ.

Weston. Then cake bread and loaf bread are all one with you. Ye call it the supper of the Lord ; but you are deceived in that, for they had done the supper before, and therefore the scripture saith, *postquam carnatum est*, that is, after they had supped. For ye know, that St. Paul findeth fault with the Corinthians, for that some of them were drunken at this supper ; and ye know no man can be drunken at your communion.

Latimer. The first was called *Cæna Judaica*, that is, the Jewish supper, when they did eat the paschal lamb together : the other was called *Cæna Dominica*, that is, the Lord's supper.

Weston. That is false, for Chrysostom denieth that ; and St. Ambrose, in cap. x. *prioris ad Corinthios*, saith, that the mystery of the sacrament, given as they were at supper, is not the supper of the Lord : and Gregory Nazianzen saith the same. Again, he kept the holy feast of passover with his disciples, in the dining chamber after supper, and one day before his passion. But we keep it both in the churches and houses of prayer, both before the supper, and also after the resurrection. And that first supper was called *ἀγάπη* : can you tell what that is ?

Latimer. I understand no Greek. Yet I think it meaneth charity.

Weston. Will you have all things done that Christ did then ? Why then the priest must be hanged on the morrow. And where find you, I pray, that a woman should receive the sacrament ?

Latimer. Will you give me leave to turn my book ? I

* " By this first and second communion," says Fox " the doctor meaneth the two books of public order set forth in King Edward's days, the one in the beginning and the other in the latter end of his reign." This discrepancy which arose from the objections, made by Bucer and Calvin, that the first liturgy came too near the ancient offices, gave a handle to the Romanists to charge our reformers with the love of novelty.

find it in the eleventh chapter to the Corinthians ; I trow these be the words: *Probet autem seipsum homo, &c.* I pray you, good master, what gender is *homo*?

Weston. Marry, the common gender.

Cole. It is in the Greek, ὁ ἀνθρώπος.

Harpsfield. It is *άνρ*, that is, *vir*.

Latimer. It is in my book of Erasmus' translation, *Probet seipsum homo*.

Feckenham. It is *Probet seipsum*, indeed, and therefore it importeth the masculine gender.

Latimer. What then? I trow when the woman touched Christ, he said, *Quis tetigit me? Scio quod alius me tetigit*, that is, "who touched me? I know that some man touched me."

Weston. I will be at host with you anon. When Christ was at his supper, none were with him, but his apostles only. *Ergo*, he meant no women, if you will have his institution kept.

Latimer. In the twelve apostles was represented the whole church, in which you will grant both men and women to be.

Weston. So through the whole heretical translated bible, ye never make mention of priest, till ye come to the putting of Christ to death. Where find you then that a priest or minister (a minstrel I may call him well enough) should do it of necessity.

Latimer. A minister is a more fit name for that office, for the name of a priest importeth a sacrifice.

Weston. Well, remember that ye cannot find that a woman may receive by scripture. Master opponent fall to it.

Smith. Because I perceive that this charge is laid upon my neck to dispute with you ; to the end, that the same may go forward after a right manner and order, I will propose three questions, so as they were put forth unto me. And first, I ask this question of you, although the same indeed ought not to be called in question : but such is the condition of the church, that it is always vexed of the wicked sort. I ask I say, whether Christ's body be really in the sacrament?

Latimer. I trust I have obtained of M. Prolocutor, that

no man shall exact that thing of me which is not in me. And I am sorry that this worshipful audience should be deceived of their expectation for my sake. I have given up my mind in writing to M. Prolocutor.

Smith. Whatsoever ye have given up, it shall be registered among the acts.

Latimer. Disputation requireth a good memory. *Ast abolita est mihi memoria.* My memory is gone clean, and marvellously weakened, and never the better, I wis, for the prison.

Weston. How long have ye been in prison ?

Latimer. These three quarters of this year.

Weston. And I was in prison six years.

Latimer. The more pity, Sir.

Weston. How long have you been of this opinion ?

Latimer. It is not long, Sir, that I have been of this opinion.

Weston. The time hath been when you said mass full devoutly.

Latimer. Yea, I cry God mercy heartily for it.

Weston. Where learned you this new fangleness ?

Latimer. I have long sought for the truth in this matter of the sacrament, and have not been of this mind past seven years : and my lord of Canterbury's book hath especially confirmed my judgment herein. If I could remember all therein contained I would not fear to answer any man in this matter.

Tresham. There are in that book six hundred errors.

Weston. You were once a Lutheran.

Latimer. No. I was a papist : for I never could perceive how Luther could defend his opinion without transubstantiation. The Tigurines once did write a book against Luther, and I oft desired God that he might live so long to make them answer.

Weston. Luther, in his book, "*De Privata Missa*," said, that the devil reasoned with him, and persuaded him that the mass was not good. Whereof it may appear, that Luther said mass, and the devil dissuaded him from it.

Latimer. I do not take in hand here to defend Luther's sayings or doings. If he were here, he would defend him-

self well enough, I trow. I told you before, that I am not meet for disputations. I pray you read mine answer, wherein I have declared my faith.

Weston. Do you believe this, as you have written ?

Latimer. Yea, Sir.

Weston. Then have you no faith.

Latimer. Then would I be sorry, Sir.

Tresham. It is written, (John vi.) "Except ye shall eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye shall have no life in you:" which, when the Capernaïtes and many of Christ's disciples heard, they said, "This is a hard saying," &c. Now, that the truth may the better appear, here I ask of you, whether Christ, speaking these words, did mean of his flesh to be eaten with the mouth or of the spiritual eating of the same ?

Latimer. .I answer, (as Augustine understandeth,) that Christ meant of the spiritual eating of his flesh.

Tresham. I myself have heard you preaching at Greenwich before King Henry the Eighth, where you did openly affirm, that no Christian man ought to doubt of the true and real presence of Christ's body in the sacrament, forasmuch as he had the word of scripture on his side: (*videlicet*), *Hoc est corpus meum*, "This is my body:" whereby he might be confirmed. But now there is the same truth; the word of scripture hath the self-same thing, which it then had. Therefore why do you deny at this present, that whereof it was not lawful once to doubt before when you taught it ?

Latimer. Will you give me leave to speak ?

Tresham. Speak Latin, I pray you, for ye can do it, if ye list, promptly enough.

Latimer. I cannot speak Latin so long and so largely. M. Prolocutor hath given me leave to speak English. And he that shall answer the doctors, had not need to be in my case, but should have them in a readiness, and know their purpose. Melancthon saith, if the doctors had foreseen that they should have been so taken in this controversy, they would have written more plainly.

Weston. Because ye can defend your doctors no better, ye shall see how worshipful men ye hang upon, and one

that hath been of your mind shall dispute with you. M. Cartwright, I pray you dispute.

Cartwright. Reverend father, because it is given me in commandment to dispute with you, I will do it gladly. But first understand ere we go any further, that I was in the same error that you are in; but I am sorry for it, and do confess myself to have erred. I acknowledge mine offence, and wish and desire God that you also may repent with me.

Latimer. Will you give me leave to tell what hath caused M. Doctor here to recant? It is "*pæna legis*," the pain of the law which hath brought you back, and converted you and many more: the which letteth many to confess God. And this is a great argument, there are few here can dissolve it.

Cartwright. That is not my case: but I will make you this short argument, by which I was converted from mine errors.

"If the true body of Christ is not really in the sacrament, all the whole church hath erred from the apostles' time:

"But Christ would not suffer his church to err:

"*Ergo*, it is the true body of Christ.

Latimer. The popish church hath erred, and doth err. I think for the space of six or seven hundred years, there was no mention made of any eating not spiritually: for before these five hundred years, the church did ever confess a spiritual manducation. But the Romish church begat the error of transubstantiation. My Lord of Canterbury's book handleth that very well, and by him I could answer you if I had him.

Cartwright. Linus and all the rest do confess the body of Christ to be in the sacrament: and St. Augustine also, upon the 98th Psalm, upon this place, "*Adorate scabellum pedum*," &c., granteth it is to be worshipped.

Latimer. We do worship Christ in the heavens, and we do worship him in the sacrament; but the massing worship is not to be used.

Weston. How say you to the sacrifice for the dead?

Latimer. I say it needeth not, or it booteth not.

Weston. Augustine, in his Enchiridion, the 110th chapter, saith, " We must not deny that the souls of the dead are relieved by the devotion of their friends which are living, when the sacrifice of the Mediator is offered for them." Where he proveth the verity of Christ's body, and praying for the dead. And it is said, that the same Augustine said mass for his mother.

Latimer. But that mass was not like yours, which thing doth manifestly appear in his writings, which are against it in every place. And Augustine is a reasonable man, he requireth to be believed no farther than he bringeth scripture for his proof, and agreeth with God's word.

Weston. In the same place he proveth a propitiatory sacrifice, and that upon an altar, and no oyster board.

Latimer. It is the Lord's table and no oyster board. It may be called an altar, and so the doctors call it in many places; but there is no propitiatory sacrifice, but only Christ. The doctors might be deceived in some points, though not in all things. I believe them when they say well.

Cole. Is it not a shame for an old man to lie? You say, you are of the old fathers' faith, where they say well, and yet ye are not.

Latimer. I am of their faith when they say well. I refer myself to my Lord of Canterbury's book wholly herein.

Smith. Then are you not of Chrysostom's faith, nor of St. Augustine's faith?

Latimer. I have said, when they say well, and bring scripture for them, I am of their faith; and further Augustine requireth not to be believed.

Weston. Forty years ago whither could you have gone to have found your doctrine?

Latimer. The more cause we have to thank God that hath now sent the light into the world.

Weston. The light? Nay, light and lewd preachers: for you could not tell what you might have. Ye altered and changed so often your communions and altars, and all for this one end, to spoil and rob the church.

Latimer. These things pertain nothing to me. I must not answer for other men's deeds, but only for mine own,

Weston. Well, Master Latimer, this is our intent to will you well, and to exhort you to come to yourself, and remember that without Noe's ark, there is no health. Remember what they have been that were the beginners of your doctrine, none but a few flying apostates, running out of Germany for fear of the fagot. Remember what they have been which have set forth the same in this realm. A sort of fling-brains and light-heads, which were never constant in any one thing, as it was to be seen in the turning of the table, where, like a sort of apes, they could not tell which way to turn their tails, looking one day west, and another day east, one that way and another this way. They will be like, they say, to the apostles, they will have no churches. A hovel is good enough for them. They come to the communion with no reverence. They get them a tankard, and one saith, I drink, and I am thankful. The more joy of thee, saith another. And in them was it true that Hilary saith, *Annuas et menstruas de Deo fides facimus*, that is, "We make every year and every month a faith." A runagate Scot* did take away the adoration or worshipping of Christ in the sacrament; by whose procurement that heresy was put into the last communion book: so much prevailed that one man's authority at that time. You never agreed with the Tigurines or Germans, or with the church, or with yourself. Your stubbornness cometh of a vain glory, which is to no purpose; for it will do you no good when a fagot is in your beard. And we see all by your own confession, how little cause you have to be stubborn, for your learning is in feoffer's hold. The queen's grace is merciful if ye will turn.

Latimer. You shall have no hope in me to turn. I pray for the queen daily, even from the bottom of my heart, that she may turn from this religion.

* Weston alludes to Alexander Ales or Alesius, a Scottish exile, who translated the first liturgy of Edward VI. into Latin. He was a man of considerable learning, and became professor of theology at Leipsic, where he died in 1565. While in England, he lived at Lambeth, on terms of great friendship with Latimer, which perhaps was the occasion of Weston's abuse.

Weston. Here you all see the weakness of heresy against the truth : he denieth all truth, and all the old fathers.

Upon this, Fox makes the following remarks, and adds some curious particulars. " Here," says he, " all good readers may see how this glorious prolocutor triumpheth : but whether he hath the victory or no, I suppose they have not yet neither heard nor seen. And give that he had the victory, yet what great marvel was it, disputing, as he did, *non sine suo thesco*, that is, not without his tippling cup standing at his elbow, all the time at his disputation ; not without a privy noting and smiling of them that beheld the matter ; but specially at that time, when Doctor Ridley, disputing with one of the opponents, the said prolocutor took the cup, and holding it in his hand, said to the opponent, *Urge hoc, urge hoc. Nam hoc facit pro nobis*. In which words, as he moved no little matter of laughter to the beholders thereof, so I thought here also not to leave the same unmentioned, somewhat also to delight the reader withal, after his tedious weariness in reading thereof.

" Thus have you heard in these foresaid disputations, about the holy supper of the Lord, the reasons and arguments of the doctors, the answers and resolutions of the bishops, and the triumph of the prolocutor, triumphing before the victory, with *vivit veritas*, who rather, in my mind, should have exclaimed *vicit potestas*, as it happeneth always, *ubi pars major vincit meliorem*. For else, if *potestas* had not helped the prolocutor more than *veritas*, there had been a small *victoria*. But so it is, where judgments be partial, and parties be addicted, there all things turn to victory, though it be never so mean and simple, as in this disputation might well appear. For first, of the opponent's part, neither was there almost any argument in true mood and figure rightly framed ; neither could the answerers be permitted to say for themselves ; and if they answered any thing, it was condemned before they began to speak. Again, such disturbance and confusion, more like a conspiracy than any disputation, without all form and order, was in the schools during the time of their

answering, that neither could the answerers have place to utter their minds, neither would the opponents be satisfied with any reasons. Concerning the which disturbance of that misruled disputation, you shall hear what M. Ridley himself reporteth by his own description in manner as followeth :

“ The Report and Declaration of M. Ridley, concerning the misordered disputation had against him and his fellow-prisoners at Oxford.

“ I never yet, since I was born, saw or heard any thing done or handled more vainly or tumultuously than the disputation which was with me in the schools at Oxford. Yea, verily, I could never have thought that it had been possible to have found, amongst men accounted to be of knowledge and learning in this realm, any so brazen-faced and shameless, so disorderly and vainly to behave themselves, more like stage-players in interludes, to set forth a pageant, than to grave divines in schools to dispute. The sorbonical clamours (which at Paris I have seen in time past when popery most reigned) might be worthily thought (in comparison of this thrasonical ostentation) to have had most modesty. And no great marvel, seeing they which should have been moderators and overseers of others, and which should have given good ensample in words and gravity; they themselves, above all other, gave worst ensample, and did, as it were, blow the trump to the rest, to rave, roar, rage, and cry out. By reason whereof, good Christian reader, manifestly it may appear, that they never sought for any truth or verity, but only for the glory of the world, and their own begging victory. But lest, by the innumerable railings and reproachful taunts wherewith I was baited on every side, our cause, yea, rather God's cause, and his churches, should be evil spoken of, and slandered to the world, through false reports and untrue ensamples given out of our disputation, and so the verity might sustain some damage, I thought it no less than my duty to write mine answers, to the intent that whosoever is desirous to know the truth thereof, may by this perceive, as well those things which were chiefly described, as summarily that which was answered of me unto every of them.

Howbeit, good reader, I confess this to be most true, that it is impossible to set forth, either all that was, God knoweth, tumultuously and confusedly objected of their parts, being so many, speaking many times all together, so thick, that one could not well hear another, either all that was answered on my behalf to them so sundry and divers opponents.

“ Moreover, a great part of the time appointed for the disputations, was vainly consumed in opprobrious checks and reviling taunts, with hissing and clapping of hands, and that in the English tongue, to procure the people’s favour withal. All which things, when I with great grief of heart did behold, protesting openly, that such excessive and outrageous disorder was unseemly for those schools, and men of learning and gravity, and that they which were the doers and stirrers of such things, did nothing else but bewray the slenderness of their cause, and their own vanities : I was so far off by this my humble complaint from doing any good at all, that I was enforced to hear such rebukes, checks, and taunts, for my labours, as no person of any honesty, without thinking, could abide to hear the like spoken of a most vile varlet, against a most wretched ruffian.

“ At the first beginning of the disputation, when I should have confirmed mine answer to the first proposition in few words, and that (after the manner and law of schools) afore I could make an end of my first probation, which was not very long, even the doctors themselves cried out ‘ He speaketh blasphemies, he speaketh blasphemies.’ And when I, on my knees, besought them, and that heartily, that they would vouchsafe to hear me to the end, (whereof the prolocutor, being moved, cried out on high, ‘ Let him read it, let him read it,’) yet when I began to read again, there followed immediately such shouting, such a noise and tumult, and confusion of voices, crying, ‘ blasphemies, blasphemies,’ as I, to my remembrance, never heard or read the like, except it be that one which was in the Acts of the Apostles, stirred up of Demetrius the silversmith, and other of his occupation, crying out against Paul, ‘ Great is Diana of the Ephesians, great is Diana of the

Ephesians:’ and except it be a certain disputation which the Arians had against the orthodox, and such as were of godly judgment in Africa, where it is said, that such as the president and rulers of the disputation were, such was the end of the disputations. All were in a hurly-burly, and so great were the slanders which the Arians cast out, that nothing could quietly be heard. This writeth Victor, in the second book of his history. The which cries and tumults of them against me so prevailed, that wild I, mild I, I was enforced to leave off the reading of my probations, although they were short. If any one doubt of the truth hereof, let the same ask any one that was there, and not utterly perverted to popery, and I am assured he will say, I speak the least. But to complain of these things further I will cease*.”

On Friday, the twentieth of April, the three prelates were again brought before the commissioners in St. Mary’s church, where Dr. Weston, says the protestant martyrologist, “ used particularly dissuasions with every one of them, and would not suffer them to answer in any wise ; but directly and peremptorily, as his words were, to say whether they would subscribe or no. And first, to the bishop of Canterbury, he said, he was overcome in disputations : whom the bishop answered, that whereas Doctor Weston said, he hath answered and opposed, and could neither maintain his own errors, nor impugn the verity, all that he said, was false. For he was not suffered to oppose as he would, nor could answer as he was required, unless he would have brawled with them, so thick their reasons came one after another. Even four or five did interrupt him that he could not speak.”

M. Ridley and M. Latimer were asked what they would do : they said, they would stand to what they had said. Then were they all called together, and sentence read over them, that they were no members of the church. And therefore they, their fautors and patrons, were condemned as heretics : and, in reading of it, they were asked, whe-

* See an “ Account of a Disputation at Oxford, A. D. 1554, with a Treatise of the Sacrament,” written by Bishop Ridley, 8vo. 1688. The editor was Dr. Gilbert Ironside, bishop of Bristol.

ther they would turn or no: and they bade them read on in the name of God, for they were not minded to turn. So were they condemned all three.

After which sentence of condemnation being awarded against them, they answered again every one in his turn, in manner and effect of words, as followeth, the archbishop first beginning thus :

“ From this your judgment and sentence, I appeal to the just judgment of God Almighty, trusting to be present with him in heaven, for whose presence in the altar I am thus condemned.”

Dr. Ridley said, “ Although I be not of your company, yet doubt not I but my name is written in another place, whither this sentence will send us sooner than we should by the course of nature have come.”

Master Latimer said, “ I thank God most heartily, that he hath prolonged my life to this end, that I may in this case glorify God by that kind of death.”

Weston, instead of being struck with admiration at this Christian heroism, exclaimed, “ If you go to heaven in this faith, then I will never come thither, as I am thus persuaded.”

The next day the triumphant party had a great mass, with a general procession, which the archbishop was compelled to see out of his prison, Ridley from the sheriff's house, and Latimer was also dragged forth for the same purpose. The good old man, whose thoughts were wholly engrossed in preparing for his latter end, thinking that he was now called to the stake, desired the constable who attended him to make a quick fire ; but when he came to Carfax, and saw what was going on, he ran as fast as his old bones would carry him to one Spencer's shop, refusing to behold a spectacle which he considered as savouring of idolatry.

Soon after this mock disputation, Dr. Smith, who made such a figure in it, preached a sermon at Whittington College in London, where he edified his congregation with an account of his victory over the protestant champions. Having edified his audience by reading the legendary story of our Saviour's meeting St. Peter at the gate of Rome,

and causing him to turn back to suffer martyrdom, he proceeded thus: "My masters; you are in great errors concerning the blessed sacrament; and all your trust was in Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer. As for Latimer, he said, in open disputation at Oxford, that he had no learning in that matter, but out of Cranmer's book. Besides this, I disputed with Latimer twenty years ago, and then he had no learning. As for Cranmer, he said that his learning came from Ridley. And as for Ridley, I disputed with him myself now at Oxford the other day; and I proved my argument thus: *Ille cui Christus obviavit Romæ, fuit Romæ: at Christus obviavit Petro Romæ: ergo Petrus fuit Romæ*: i. e., He whom Christ met at Rome, was at Rome; but Christ met Peter at Rome; *ergo*, Peter was at Rome. By this argument, I prove two things, and singular mysteries of our faith. First, that Peter was at Rome, against them that chatter Peter was never at Rome. Secondly, that if Peter met Christ bodily, as Abdias reporteth, and which I am sure is true; or else such an ancient and holy father would never have written it; then, consequently, he may be as well in the blessed sacrament, as he was met bodily. To this Ridley stood like a block, and finding himself convicted, answered nothing. Then said I, *Cur non respondes, hæretice, hæreticorum hæreticissime?* Did I not handle him well? Then he denied the minor, which I proved thus: Christ met Peter going out of Rome, and said, Good morrow, Peter, whither goest thou? Peter answered, Good morrow, good man, whither goest thou? - Then said Christ, I go to Rome to suffer. What, saith Peter, I trow; unless I take my marks amiss, you are Jesus Christ! Good Lord, how do you? I am glad I have met you here. Then said he to Peter, Go back and suffer, or else I must; *et pro te, et pro me*. When Ridley had heard this my proof, and Abdias his authority, a doctor ancient and irrefragable, he answered never a word. And thus I confuted Ridley in the audience of a thousand, and yet you say that Christ was never in earth since the ascension bodily. Believe with me, that he is under form of bread and wine. Let this argument of mine confound you as it did Ridley your chief champion."

After their condemnation, the three prelates were again remitted to their several places of confinement, without being allowed to have any personal intercourse; no doubt that they might be prevented from strengthening each other in the faith, so justly were the persecutors afraid that the firmness of the martyrs would prove as glorious to the cause for which they suffered, as the proceedings of their adversaries were disgraceful to the church which they endeavoured to build up with blood. Cranmer and Ridley appealed to the council against the sentence which had been passed upon them, but Latimer knowing well that such a measure would be fruitless, patiently submitted to the judgment, and employed all his time in preparing for death, "being so fervently occupied in prayer," says his faithful attendant Austin Bernher, "that oftentimes he could not rise from his knees without help."

During the time of his imprisonment at Oxford he wrote but little, and both Coverdale and Fox, who exerted themselves with great diligence in collecting the letters of the martyrs, could meet with only one of Latimer's, which he sent to Mrs. Wilkinson, a godly woman of London, as an acknowledgment for the kindness she had shewn to him in his necessity.

The epistle is short, but it exhibits a sweet spirit of resignation: "If the gift of a pot of cold water," says he to his pious friend, "shall not be in oblivion with God, how can God forget your manifold and bountiful gifts, when he shall say to you, I was in prison and you visited me! God grant us all to do and suffer while we be here, as may be to his will and pleasure. *Amen.* Your's in Bocardo, HUGH LATIMER."

But though the aged saint looked every hour to be called out to the stake, the crown of martyrdom was withheld from him above a year and a half. This delay did not arise from any humanity on the part of the Popish faction; but from the intensity of their malice and an over eagerness to gratify their vengeance. It was discovered that the commissioners had proceeded without legal authority, and that therefore the sentence which they had passed was null and void. The queen claimed no ecclesiastical jurisdiction

and the papal supremacy in these realms was abrogated by parliament, so that the convocation assembled at Oxford could not, without a flagrant violation of the law, as it then stood, sit in judgment upon the three prelates. This obstacle had been foreseen and pointed out before the proceedings began at Oxford; notwithstanding which, so anxious were the dominant party to glut their thirst for blood, that Weston the prolocutor had the impudence to say, "It forceth not for a law, we have a commission to proceed with them, and when they be despatched, let their friends call for a law."

Some persons high in office, however, being apprehensive that an affair of this nature would be productive of serious consequences, thought it best to take the opinion of the judges and council learned in the law upon the difficulty of the case. What that opinion was may be inferred from this, that the sentence against the Protestant bishops was not put in force till the meeting of another parliament and the restoration of the papal authority.

Accordingly a new commission was sent down to Oxford at the end of September, 1555, but the powers of the persons therein appointed were limited to the examination of Ridley and Latimer only, the case of Cranmer being reserved, as some think, by the management of Gardiner, who aimed at the archbishopric, which he knew was intended by the queen for her relative cardinal Pole.

The three ecclesiastical judges nominated by the papal legate were White, bishop of Lincoln*, Brookes, bishop

* John White was born at Farnham in Surrey, and received his education at Winchester School, after which he became fellow of New College, Oxford. About 1534 he was appointed master of the school where he had been bred, and next succeeded to the wardenship of Winchester College; but in the reign of Edward VI. he was sent to the Tower, for his secret practices in favour of popery. On the accession of Mary he was advanced to the see of Lincoln, and afterwards translated to Winchester. He was, says Wood, a man of austere life, and much more mortified to the world than Gardiner his predecessor. Of his austerity we have a proof in his conduct to the Protestant bishops, and his mortified spirit appeared in the funeral sermon which he preached for queen Mary, after praising whom, for her piety, he said she had left a sister, a lady of great worth whom they were now bound to obey; for that *melior est canis vivus quam leone mortuo*, "a living dog is better than a dead lion." Notwithstanding this he only suffered deprivation in 1559, and dying soon after was buried in his cathedral.

of Gloucester*, and Holyman, bishop of Bristol†: “they or two of them to have full power and authority to ascite, examine and judge, Master Hugh Latimer and Master Doctor Ridley, pretended bishops of Worcester and London, for divers and sundry erroneous opinions which they did hold and maintain in open disputations at Oxford, in the year 1554, as also long before in the time of perdition and sithen. The which opinions, if the named persons would now recant, giving and yielding themselves to the determination of the universal and catholic church planted by Peter in the blessed see of Rome, that then they the deputed judges by the said authority of their commission, should have power to receive the said penitent persons, and forthwith minister unto them, the reconciliation of the holy father the Pope: but if the said Hugh Latimer and Nicholas Ridley, would stoutly and stubbornly defend and maintain these their erroneous opinions and assertions, that then the said lords by their commission, should proceed in form of judgment, according to the law of heretics, that is, degrading them from their promotion, and dignity of bishops, priests, and all other ecclesiastical orders, should pronounce them as heretics, and therefore clean to cut them off from the church, and so to yield them to receive punishments, due to all such heresy and schism.”

In virtue of this authority from the papal legate, the commissioners cited Ridley and Latimer to appear before them on the thirtieth of September, in the divinity school at eight of the clock in the morning. “At that time,” saith Fox, “thither repaired the Lords, placing themselves

* James Brookes was born in Hampshire, and had his academical education at Corpus Christ College, Oxford, of which he became a fellow, but afterwards was chosen master of Baliol College. He was chaplain to bishop Gardiner, by whose interest he was promoted to the see of Gloucester. He died in February, 1559-60, and was buried in his cathedral.

† John Holyman was a native of Buckinghamshire, and was bred at Winchester school, from whence he removed to New College, Oxford, where he obtained a fellowship. Afterwards he became a monk of the abbey of Reading, from whence he was ejected, on its dissolution in 1535. In 1551, he was made bishop of Bristol, which see he held till his death in 1558. He wrote a tract against Luther, and another in defence of the marriage of Henry VIII. and Catharine of Arragon; both in Latin.

in the high seat, made for public lectures and disputations, according to the usage of that school, being then fair set and trimmed with cloth of tissue, and cushions of velvet; and after the said lords were placed and set, Latimer and Ridley were sent for, and first appeared Master Doctor Ridley and anon Master Latimer. But because it seemed good severally to examine them, Master Latimer was kept back until Doctor Ridley was thoroughly examined. Therefore soon after the coming of Doctor Ridley into the school, the commission was published by an appointed notary, and openly read. But Doctor Ridley standing bare-headed, humbly expecting the cause of that his appearance, as soon as he had heard the cardinal named and the pope's holiness put on his cap. Wherefore after the commission was published, the bishop of Lincoln spake in sense following: "Master Ridley, although neither I, neither my lords here, in respect of our own persons, do look for cap or knee, yet because we bear and represent such persons as we do, that is, my lord cardinal's grace, legate *à latere* to the pope's holiness, as well in that he is of a notable parentage (and therewith Master Ridley moved his cap with lowly obeisance) descending from the regal blood, as in that he is a man worthy to be revered with all humility, for his great knowledge and learning, noble virtues, and godly life, and especially in that he is here in England deputy to the pope's holiness, it should have becamed you at his name to have discovered your head. Wherefore except you will of your ownself take the pains to put your hand to your head, and at the nomination as well of the said cardinal as of the pope's holiness, uncover the same, least that this your contumacy exhibited now before us, should be prejudicial to the said most reverend persons (which thing we may in no case suffer), you shall cause us to take the pain to cause some man to pluck off your cap from you." To whom Master Ridley making his petition for license, answered:

"As touching what you said, my lord, that you of your own persons desired no cap nor knee, but only require the same, in consideration that you represent the cardinal grace's person, I do you to wit, and thereupon make my

protestation, that I did put on my cap at the naming of the cardinal's grace, neither for any contumacy that I bear towards your own persons, neither for any derogation of honour toward the lord cardinal's grace. For I know him to be a man worthy of all humility, reverence, and honour, in that he came of the most regal blood, and that he is a man endued with manifold graces of learning and virtue: and as touching these virtues and points, I with all humility, (therewith he put off his cap and bowed his knee) and obeisance that I may, will reverence and honour his grace: but in that he is legate to the bishop of Rome (and therewith put on his cap), whose usurped supremacy, and abused authority, I utterly refuse and renounce, I may in no wise give any obeisance or honour unto him, lest that my so doing and behaviour might be prejudicial to mine oath, and derogation to the verity of God's word, and therefore that I might not only by confession, profess the verity in not reverencing the renounced authority, contrary to God's word, but also in gesture, in behaviour, and all my doings express the same, I have put on my cap, and for this consideration only; and not for any contumacy to your lordships, neither contempt of this worshipful audience, neither derogation of any honour due to the cardinal his grace, both for his noble parentage and also his excellent qualities."

Lincoln. Master Ridley you excuse yourself of that, with the which we pressed you not, in that you protest you keep on your cap, neither for any contumacy towards us (which look for no such honour of you) neither for any contempt of this audience, which although justly they may, yet (as I suppose) in this case do not require any such obeisance of you; neither in derogation of any honour due to my lord cardinal's grace, for his regal descent (at which word Master Ridley moved his cap) and excellent qualities: for although in all the premises honour be due, yet in these respects we require none of you, but only in that my lord cardinal's grace is here in England, deputy of the pope's holiness, (at which word the lords and others put off their caps, and master Ridley put on his) and therefore we say unto you the second time, that except you take the pains yourself, to put your hand to your head and put off your

cap, you shall put us to the pain, to cause some man to take it from you, except you allege some infirmity and sickness, or other more reasonable cause, upon the consideration whereof, we may do as we think good.

Ridley. The premises, I said only for this end, that it might as well appear to your lordships, as to this worshipful audience, why and for what consideration, I used such kind of behaviour, in not humbling myself to your lordships with cap and knee: and as for any sickness, I thank my Lord God, that I am as well at ease, as I was this long season; and therefore I do not pretend that which is not, but only this, that it might appear by this my behaviour, that I acknowledge in no point that usurped supremacy of Rome, and therefore contemn and utterly despise all authority coming from him. In taking off my cap, do as it shall please your lordships, and I shall be content.

Then the bishop of Lincoln after the third admonition, commanded one of the beadles to pluck his cap from his head, Master Ridley bowing his head towards the officer gently permitted him to take away his cap.

After this, the bishop of Lincoln in a long oration, exhorted Master Ridley to recant and submit himself to the universal faith of Christ in this manner:

“ Master Ridley, I am sure you have sufficiently pondered with yourself, the effect of this our commission, with a good advisement, considering both points thereof, how that authority be given to us, if you shall receive the true doctrine of the church (which first was founded by Peter at Rome immediately after the death of Christ, and from him by lineal succession hath been brought to this our time), if you will be content to renounce your former errors, recant your heretical and seditious opinions, content to yield yourself to the undoubted faith and truth of the gospel, received and always taught of the Catholick and Apostolic Church, the which the king and queen, all the nobles of this realm, and commons of the same, all christian people, have and do confess, you only standing alone by yourself. You understand and perceive, I am sure, that authority is given us to receive you, to reconcile you and upon due penance to adjoin and associate you again into the number

of the Catholic's and Christ's church, from the which you have so long strayed, without the which no man can be saved; the which thing, I and my lords here, yea and all, as well nobles and commons of this realm, most heartily desire, and I for my part, most earnestly exhort you to do. Remember, Master Ridley, it is no strange country whither I exhort you to return. You were once of us. You have taken degrees in the school. You were made a priest and became a preacher, setting forth the same doctrine which we do now. You were made bishop according to our laws, and to be short, it is not so long ago, sith you separated yourself from us, and in the time of heresy, became a setter forth of that devilish and seditious doctrine, which in these latter days was preached amongst us. For at what time the new doctrine of ONLY FAITH began to spring, the council willing to whom my Lord Chancellor* sent you to (I then being in my lord's house unknown as I suppose to you), and after you had talked to my lord secretly, and were departed, immediately my lord declared certain points of your talk, and means of your persuasion; and amongst other this was one, 'Tush, my lord, this matter of justification is but a trifle, let us not stick to condescend herein to them: but for God's love, my lord, stand stoutly in the verity of the sacrament: for I see that they will assault that also.' If this be true (as my lord is a man credible enough in such a matter) hereby it is declared of what mind you were then, as touching the truth of the most blessed sacrament.

"Also, in a sermon of yours at Paul's cross, you as effectually and as catholically spake of that blessed sacrament, as any man might have done; whereby it appeareth that it is no strange thing nor unknown place whereunto I exhort you. I wish you to return thither from whence you came: that is, together with us to acknowledge the faith, to acknowledge the church of God wherein no man may err, to acknowledge the supremacy of our most reverend father

* Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, of whom it was commonly said that "he was to be traced like the fox, and read like Hebrew backward; if you would know what he did, you must observe what he did not." *LLOYD'S State Worthies*.

in God, the pope's holiness, which, as I said, lineally taketh his descent from Peter, upon whom Christ promised, before his death to build his church ; the which supremacy or prerogative, the most ancient fathers in all ages, in all times, did acknowledge." And here he brought a place or two out of the doctors, but especially stayed upon a saying of St. Augustine, which writeth in this manner, *Totus orbis Christianus in transmarinis, et longe remotis terris, Romanæ ecclesiæ subjectus est* ; that is, " All the Christian countries beyond the sea are subject to the church of Rome. Here you see, Master Ridley, that all Christendom is subject to the church of Rome. What should stay you therefore to confess the same with St. Austin and the other fathers ?"

Then Master Ridley desired his patience to suffer him to speak somewhat of the premises, lest the multitude of things might confound his memory : and having grant thereunto, said in this manner.

Ridley. My lord, I most heartily thank your lordship, as well for your gentleness, as also for your sobriety in talk, and for your good and favourable zeal in this learned exhortation ; in the which I have marked especially three points, which you used to persuade me to leave my doctrine and religion, which I perfectly know and am thoroughly persuaded to be grounded, not upon man's imagination and decrees, but upon the infallible truth of Christ's gospel ; and not to look back, and to return to the Romish see, contrary to mine oath, contrary to the prerogative and crown of this realm, and especially (which mouth me most) contrary to the expressed word of God.

The first point is this, that the see of Rome, taking his beginning from Peter, upon whom you say Christ hath builded his church, hath in all ages lineally descended from bishop to bishop, been brought to this time.

Secondly, that even the holy fathers, from time to time, have in their writings confessed the same.

Thirdly, that in that I was once of the same opinion, and together with you, I did acknowledge the same.

First, as touching the saying of Christ, from whence your lordship gathereth the foundation of the church upon Peter ; truly the place is not so to be understood as you take it, as the circumstance of the place will declare. For

after that Christ had asked his disciples whom men judged him to be, and they had answered, that some had said he was a prophet, some Elias, some one thing, some another, then he said, "Whom say ye that I am?" Then Peter said, "I say that thou art Christ the Son of God." To whom Christ answered, "Thou art Peter, and upon this stone, I will build my church;" that is to say, upon this stone, not meaning Peter himself, as though he would have constituted a mortal man, so frail and brittle a foundation of his stable and infallible church; but upon this rock stone, that is, this confession of thine, that I am the Son of God, I will build my church. For this is the foundation and beginning of all Christianity, with word, heart, and mind, to confess that Christ is the Son of God. Whosoever believeth not this, Christ is not in him; and he cannot have the mark of Christ printed in his forehead, which confesseth not that Christ is the Son of God. Therefore Christ said unto Peter, that upon this rock, that is, upon this confession, that he was Christ the Son of God, he would build his church; to declare that without this faith no man can come to Christ, so that this belief, that Christ is the Son of God, is the foundation of our christianity; and the foundation of our church. Here you see upon what foundation Christ's church is built, not upon the frailty of man, but upon the stable and infallible word of God.

Now as touching the lineal descent of the bishops in the see of Rome, true it is that the patriarch of Rome, in the apostles' times, and long after, was a great maintainer, and a setter forth of Christ's glory, in the which, above all other countries and regions, there especially was preached the true gospel, the sacraments were most duly ministered; and, as before Christ's coming, it was a city so valiant in prowess and martial affairs, that all the world was in a manner subject to it; and, after Christ's passion, divers of the apostles there suffered persecution for the gospel's sake; so after that the emperors, their hearts being illuminated, received the gospel, and became christians, the gospel there, as well for the great power and dominion, as for the fame of the place, flourished most; whereby the bishops of that place were had in more reverence and honour, most esteemed in all councils and

assemblies ; not because they acknowledge them to be their head, but because the place was most revered and spoken of, for the great power and strength of the same. As now here in England, the bishop of Lincoln, in sessions and sittings, hath the pre-eminence of the other bishops, not that he is the head and ruler of them, but for the dignity of his bishopric.

Wherefore the doctors in their writings have spoken most reverently of this see of Rome, and in their writings preferred it ; and this is the prerogative which your lordship did rehearse, the ancient doctors to give to the see of Rome.

Secondarily, I cannot nor dare not but commend, reverence and honour the see of Rome as long as it continued in the promotion and setting forth of God's glory, and in due preaching of the gospel, as it did many years after Christ. But after that the bishops of that see, seeking their own pride, and not God's honour, began to set themselves above kings and emperors, challenging to them the title of God's vicars, the dominion and supremacy over all the world, I cannot but with St. Gregory, a bishop of Rome also, confess that the bishop of that place is the very true Antichrist, which St. John speaketh by the name of the whore of Babylon, and say with him ; he that maketh himself a bishop over all the world is worse than Antichrist. Now, whereas, you say that St. Augustine should seem, not only to give such a prerogative, but also supremacy to the see of Rome, in that he saith, all the christian world is subject to the church of Rome, and therefore should give to that see a certain kind of subjection ; I am sure that your lordship knoweth, that in St. Austin's time there were four patriarchs, of Alexandria, Constantinople, Antioch, and Rome, which patriarchs had under them certain countries as in England the archbishop of Canterbury hath under him divers bishopricks in England and Wales, to whom he may be said to be their patriarch. Also, your lordship knoweth right well, that at what time St. Austin wrote this book he was then bishop in Africa. Further, you are not ignorant, that between Europe and Asia lieth the sea called *Mare Mediterraneum*, so that all the countries in Europe, to him

which is in Africa, may be called transmarine, countries beyond the sea. Hereof St. Austin saith, all the christian countries beyond the seas and far regions are subject to the see of Rome. If I should say all countries beyond the same are subject to the see of Rome; I do except England, which to me, now being in England, is not beyond the sea. In this sense St. Austin saith, all the countries beyond the sea are subject to the see of Rome, declaring thereby that Rome was one of the sees of the four patriarchs, and under it Europe. By what subjection I pray you? Only for a pre-eminence, as we here in England say, that all the bishoprics in England are subject to the archbishoprics of Canterbury and York. For this pre-eminence also the other doctors say that Rome is the mother of churches, as the bishopric of Lincoln is mother to the bishopric of Oxford, because the bishopric of Oxford came from the bishopric of Lincoln, and they were both once one; and so is the archbishopric of Canterbury mother to the other bishoprics which are in her province. In like manner the archbishopric of York is mother to the north bishoprics, and yet no man will say that Lincoln, Canterbury, or York is supreme head to other bishoprics: neither then ought we to confess the see of Rome to be supreme head, because the doctors, in their writings, confess the see of Rome to be mother of churches.

Now where you say I was once of the same religion which you are of, the truth is, I cannot but confess the same. Yet so was St. Paul a persecutor of Christ. But in that you say that I was one of you not long ago, in that I doing my message to my lord of Winchester, should desire him to stand stout in that gross opinion of the supper of the Lord; in very deed I was sent from the council to my lord of Winchester to exhort him to receive also the true confession of justification: and because he was very refractorious, I said to him, Why, my lord, make you so great a matter herein? You see many anabaptists rise against the sacrament of the altar: I pray you, my lord, be diligent in confounding them; for at that time my lord of Winchester and I had to do with two anabaptists of Kent. In this sense I willed my lord to be stiff in the defence of the sacrament against the detestable errors of

anabaptists, and not in the confirmation of that gross and carnal opinion now maintained.

In like sort, as touching the sermon which I made at Paul's cross, you shall understand that there were at Paul's, and divers other places fixed railing bills against the sacrament, terming it "Jack of the box;" "The sacrament of the halter;" "Round Robin;" with like unseemly terms; for the which causes, I to rebuke the unreverent behaviour of certain evil-disposed persons, preached as reverently of that matter as I might, declaring what estimation and reverence ought to be given to it, what danger ensued the mishandling thereof, affirming in that sacrament to be truly and verily the body and blood of Christ effectuously by grace and spirit: which words the unlearned understanding not, supposed that I had meant of the gross and carnal being which the Romish decrees set forth, that a body having life and motion, should be indeed under the shapes of bread and wine."

With that the bishop of Lincoln said, "Well, Master Ridley, thus you wrest places to your own pleasure; for whereas St. Augustine saith, that the whole christian world is subject to the see of Rome, without any limitation, and useth these words, *In transmarinis et longe remotis terris*, only to express the latitude of the dominion of the see of Rome, willing thereby to declare that all the world, yea, countries far distant from Rome, yet nevertheless are subject to that see, yet you would wrest it, and leave it only to Europe. I am sure you will not deny but that *totus mundus* is more than Europe.

Ridley. Indeed, my lord, if St. Austin had said *Simpliciter totus mundus*, and not added *in transmarinus*, it had been without limitation; but in that he said, *totus mundus in transmarinis partibus*, all the countries beyond the seas, he himself doth limit the universal proposition, declaring how far he meant by *totus mundus*.

The bishop of Lincoln, not staying for an answer, said, "Well, if I would stay upon this place, I could bring many more places of the fathers for the confirmation thereof; but we have certain instructions according to the which we must proceed, and came not hither to dispute the matter

with you, but only to take your answers to certain articles, and used thus in the way of exhortation, in the which you interrupted me ; wherefore I will return thither again.

“ Ye must consider that the church of Christ lieth not hidden, but is a city on the mountain, and a candle on the candlestick. Ponder with yourself that the church of Christ is *catholica*, ‘ catholic,’ which is deducted from *κατα παντα*, that is, *per omnia*, so that Christ’s church is universally spread throughout the world, not contained in the allegation of places, not comprehended in the circuit of England, not confined in the compass of Germany and Saxony as your church is.

“ Wherefore, Master Ridley, for God’s love be ye not singular : acknowledge, with all the realm, the truth. It shall not be, as you allege, prejudicial to the crown, for the king and queen, their majesties, have renounced that usurped power taken of their predecessors, and justly have renounced it. For I am sure that you know there are two powers, the one declared by the sword, the other by the keys. The sword is given to the kings and rulers of countries ; the keys were delivered by Christ to Peter, and of him left to all the successors. As touching our goods, possessions, and lives, we with you acknowledge us subjects to the king and queen, who hold the temporal sword ; but as concerning matters of religion, as touching God’s quarrel and his word, we acknowledge another head ; and as the king and the queen, their highnesses, do in all worldly affairs justly challenge the prerogative and primacy, so in spiritual and ecclesiastical matters, they acknowledge themselves not to be heads and rulers, but members of Christ’s body. Why, therefore, should ye stick at that matter, the which their majesties have forsaken and yielded ?

“ Wherefore, Master Ridley, you shall not only not do injury to the crown, and be prejudicial to their majesties’ honour, in acknowledging with all Christendom the pope’s holiness to be supreme head of Christ’s church here militant upon earth, but do a thing most delectable in their sight, and most desired of their highnesses. Thus if you will do, revoking together all your errors, acknowledging with the residue of the realm, the common and the public fault, you

shall do that all men most heartily desire ; you shall bring quietness to your conscience ; and health to your soul : then shall we with great joy, by the authority committed to us from the cardinal's grace, receive you into the church again, acknowledging you to be no longer a rotten, but a lively member of the same. But if you shall still be singular, if you shall still and obstinately persevere in your errors, stubbornly maintaining your former heresies, then we must against our will, according to our commission, separate you from us, and cut you off from the church, lest the rottenness of one part, in process of time, putrefy and corrupt the whole body ; then must we confess and publish you to be none of ours : then must we yield you up to the temporal judges, of whom, except it otherwise please the king and queen's highness, you must receive punishment by the laws of this realm, due for heretics.

“ Wherefore, Master Ridley, consider your state, remember your former degrees, spare your body, especially consider your soul, which Christ so dearly bought with his precious blood, do not you rashly cast away that which was precious in God's sight : enforce not us to do all that we may do, which is only to publish you to be none of us, to cut you off from the church ; for we do not, nor cannot, condemn you to die, (as most untruly hath been reported of us,) but that is the temporal judge's office, we only declare you to be none of the church, and then must you, according to the tenour of them, and pleasure of the rulers, abide their determination ; so that we after that we have given you up to the temporal rulers, have no further to do with you. But I trust, Master Ridley, we shall not have occasion to do that we may. I trust you will suffer us to rest in that point of our commission, which we most heartily desire ; that is, upon recantation and repentance, to receive you, to reconcile you, and again adjoin you to the unity of the church.”

Then Master Ridley, with often interruption, at length spake : “ My lord, I acknowledge an unspotted church of Christ, in the which no man can err, without the which no man can be saved, the which is spread throughout all the world, that is the congregation of the faithful : neither do I alligate or bind the same to any one place, as you said, but

confess the same to be spread throughout all the world: and whereas Christ's sacraments are duly ministered, his gospel truly preached and followed, there doth Christ's church shine as a city upon a hill, and as a candle in the candlestick. But rather it is such as you, that would have the church of Christ bound to a place, which appoint the same to Rome, that there, and no where else, is the foundation of Christ's church. But I am fully persuaded that Christ's church is every where founded, in every place where his gospel is truly received and effectually followed. And in that the church of God is in doubt, I use herein the wise counsel of Vincentius Lyranensis, whom I am sure you will allow, who giving precepts how the catholic church may be, in all heresies and schisms, known, writeth in this manner; 'When,' saith he, 'one part is corrupted with heresies, then prefer the whole world before that one part; but if the greatest part be infected, then prefer antiquity.' In like sort now, when I perceive the greatest part of christianity to be infected with the poison of the see of Rome, I repair to the usage of the primitive church, which I find clean contrary to the pope's decrees, as in that the priest receiveth alone, that it is made unlawful to the laity to receive in both kinds, and such like. Wherefore it requireth, that I prefer the antiquity of the primitive church before the novelty of the Romish church."

Lincoln. Master Ridley, these faults which you charge the see of Rome withal, are indeed no faults: for first, it was never forbid the laity, but that they might if they demanded, receive under both kinds*. You know also that Christ, after his resurrection, at what time he went with his apostles to Galilee, opened himself by breaking of bread. You know that St. Paul, after his long sailing towards Rome, brake bread, and that the apostles came together in

* This is a strange declaration, and more so, as coming from a dignitary of the church, who must have known that no layman could presume to demand the communion in both kinds, without incurring the charge of heresy, and running the risk of excommunication. On some occasions, however, the Romish clergy have given unconsecrated wine to the people, for the more easy swallowing of the sacrament, and this was allowed by the constitutions of archbishop Peckham, at Lambeth, A. D. 1281.

breaking of bread, which declareth that it is not unlawful to minister the sacrament under the form of bread only : and yet the church had just occasion to decree that the laity should receive in one kind only, thereby to take away an opinion of the unlearned, that Christ was not wholly both flesh and blood under the form of bread. Therefore, to take away their opinion, and to establish better the people's faith, the Holy Ghost in the church thought good to decree that the laity should receive only in one kind : and it is no news for the church, upon just consideration, to alter rites and ceremonies. For you read in the Acts of the Apostles, that St. Paul writing to certain of the Gentiles which had received the gospel, biddeth them to abstain from things stifled, and from blood, so that this seemeth to be an express commandment : yet who will say, but that it is lawful to eat bloodings ? how is it lawful but by the permission of the church ?

Ridley. My lord, such things as St. Paul enjoined to the Gentiles for a sufferance, by a little and little to win the Jews to Christ, were only commandments of time, and respected not the successors ; but Christ's commandment, " Do this in remembrance," which was not to minister in one kind only, was not a commandment for a time, but to presevere to the world's end.

But the bishop of Lincoln, not attending to this answer, without any stay proceeded in this oration : " So the church seemeth to have authority by the Holy Ghost, whom Christ said he would send after his ascension, which should teach the apostles all truth, to have power and jurisdiction to alter such points of the scripture, ever reserving the foundation. But we came not, as I said before, in this sort, to reason the matter with you, but have certain instructions ministered unto us, according to the tenor of the which we must proceed, proposing certain articles, unto the which we require your answer directly, either affirmatively, either negatively, to every one of them, either denying them, either granting them, without further disputations or reasoning : for we have already stretched our instructions in that we suffered you to debate the reason, the matter, in such sort as we have done : the which articles

you shall hear now, and to-morrow, at eight of the clock, in St. Mary's church, we will require and take your answers ; and then, according to the same proceed ; and if you require a copy of them you shall have it, pen, ink, and paper, also such books as you shall demand, if they be to be gotten in the university."

The articles were as follows :

1. We do object to thee, Nicholas Ridley, and to thee, Hugh Latimer, jointly and severally ; first, that thou Nicholas Ridley, in this high university of Oxford, anno 1554, in the months of April, May, June, July, or in some one or more of them, hast affirmed, and openly defended and maintained, and in many after times and places besides, that the true and natural body of Christ, after the consecration of the priest, is not really present in the sacrament of the altar.

2. *Item*, That in the year and months aforesaid, thou hast publicly affirmed and defended, that in the sacrament of the altar remaineth still the substance of bread and wine.

3. *Item*, That in the said year and months thou hast openly affirmed and obstinately maintained, that in the mass there is no propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead.

4. *Item*, That in the year, place, and months aforesaid, these thy foresaid assertions, solemnly have been condemned by the scholastical censure of this school, as heretical, and contrary to the catholic faith, by the worshipful Master Doctor Weston, prolocutor, then of the convocation house, as also by other learned men of both the universities.

5. *Item*, That all and singular the premises be true, notorious, famous, and openly known by public fame, as well to them near hand, and also to them in distant places far off.

After these articles were read, the bishops took counsel together, and at the last Lincoln said, " These are the very same articles which you, in open disputation here in the university, did maintain and defend. What say you unto the first ? I pray you answer affirmatively or negatively."

Ridley. Why, my lord, I supposed your gentleness had been such that you would have given me space until to-

morrow, that upon good advisement, I might bring a determinate answer.

Lincoln. Yea, Master Ridley, I mean not that your answers at this time shall be prejudicial to your answers to-morrow. I will take your answers at this time, and yet notwithstanding it shall be lawful for you to add, diminish, alter, and change of these answers to-morrow what you will.

Ridley. Indeed, in like manner, at our last disputations, I had many things promised and few performed. It was said that after disputations I should have a copy thereof, and license to change mine answers as I should think good. It was meet also, that I should have seen what was written by the notaries at that time. So your lordship pretended great gentleness in giving me a time ; but this gentleness is the same that Christ had of the high priests. For you, as your lordship saith, have no power to condemn me, neither at any time to put a man to death ; so in like sort the high priest said, " that it was not lawful for them to put any man to death ;" but committed Christ to Pilate, neither would suffer him to absolve Christ, although he sought all the means therefore that he might.

Then cried out Doctor Weston, one of the audience, " What, do you make the king, Pilate ?"

Ridley. No, master Doctor, I do but compare your deeds with Caiaphas's deeds and the high priests', which would condemn no man to death, as ye will not, and yet would not suffer Pilate to absolve and deliver Christ.

Lincoln. Master Ridley, we mind not but that you shall enjoy the benefit of answering to-morrow, and will take your answers now as now ; to-morrow you shall change, take out, add, and alter what you will. In the mean season we require you to answer directly to every article, either affirmatively or negatively.

Ridley. Seeing you appoint me a time to answer to-morrow, and yet will take mine answers out of hand ; first, I require the notaries, to take and write my protestation, that in no point I acknowledge your authority, or admit you to be my judges, in that point you are authorized from the pope. Therefore, whatsoever I shall say or do, I protest, I neither say it, neither do it willingly, thereby to

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admit the authority of the pope; and if your lordship will give me leave, I will shew the causes which moveth me thereunto.

Lincoln. No, Master Ridley, we have instructions to the contrary. We may not suffer you.

Ridley. I will be short; I pray your lordships suffer me to speak in few words.

Lincoln. No, Master Ridley, we may not abuse the hearers' ears.

Ridley. Why, my lord, suffer me to speak three words.

Lincoln. Well, Master Ridley, to-morrow you shall speak forty. The time is far past, therefore we require your answer determinately. What say you to the first article?

Ridley. My protestation always saved that by this mine answer I do not condescend to your authority, in that you are legate to the pope, I answer thus: In a sense the first article is true, and in a sense it is false: for if you take *really* for *verè*, for spiritually by grace and efficacy, then it is true that the natural body and blood of Christ is in the sacrament *verè et realiter*, in deed and really; but if you take these terms so grossly, that you would conclude thereby a natural body having motion to be contained under the forms of bread and wine *verè et realiter*, then *really* is not the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament, no more than the Holy Ghost is in the element of water in our baptism.

"Because this answer," says Fox, "was not understood, the notaries wist not how to note it, wherefore the bishop of Lincoln called him to answer either affirmatively or negatively, either to grant the article or to deny it."

Ridley. My lord, you know that where any equivocation, which is a word having two significations, is except distinction be given, no direct answer can be made; for it is one of Aristotle's fallacies, containing two questions under one, the which cannot be satisfied with one answer. For both you and I agree herein, that in the sacrament is the very true and natural body of Christ, even that which was born of the Virgin Mary, which ascended into heaven, which sitteth at the right hand of God the Father, which

shall come from thence to judge the quick and the dead : only we differ *in modo*, in the way and manner of being : we confess all one thing to be in the sacrament, and dissent in the manner of being there. I, being fully by God's word, thereunto persuaded, confess Christ's natural body to be in the sacrament indeed by spirit and grace, because that whosoever receiveth worthily that bread and wine, receiveth effectually Christ's body and drinketh his blood, that is, he is made effectually partaker of his passion ; and you make a grosser kind of being enclosing a natural, a lively, and moving body, under the shape or form of bread and wine. Now, this difference considered, to the question thus I answer ; that in the sacrament of the altar is the natural body and blood of Christ *verè et realiter*, in deed and really, if you take these terms " in deed and really," for spiritually by grace and efficacy ; for so every worthy receiver receiveth the very true body of Christ ; but if you mean really and in deed, so that thereby you would include a lively and a moveable body under the forms of bread and wine, then in that sense, is not Christ's body in the sacrament really and in deed."

This answer taken and penned of the notaries, the bishop of Lincoln proposed the second question or article ; to whom Ridley answered, " Always my protestation reserved, I answer thus : that in the sacrament is a certain change, in that that bread which was before common bread, is now made a lively representation of Christ's body ; and not only a figure, but effectuously representeth his body : that even as the mortal body was nourished by that visible bread, so is the internal soul fed with the heavenly food of Christ's body, which the eyes of faith see as the bodily ones do only bread. Such a sacramental mutation I grant to be in the bread and wine ; which truly is no small change, but such a change as no mortal man can make, but only that omnipotency of Christ's word."

Then the bishop of Lincoln willed him to answer directly, either affirmatively or negatively, without further declaration of the matter. Then he answered :

" That notwithstanding this sacramental mutation of the which he spake, and all the doctors confessed, the true

substance and nature of bread remaineth, with the which the body is in like sort nourished; as the soul by grace and spirit, with the body of Christ. Even so in baptism, the body is washed with the visible water, and the soul is cleansed from all filth by the invisible Holy Ghost, and yet the water ceaseth not to be water, but keepeth the nature of water still. In like sort in the sacrament of the Lord's supper the bread ceaseth not to be bread."

Then the notaries penned, that he answered affirmatively to the second article. The bishop of Lincoln declared a difference between the sacrament of the altar and baptism, because that Christ said not by the water, this is the Holy Ghost, as he did by the bread, "This is my body."

Then Master Ridley cited St. Austin which conferred both the sacraments the one with the other: but the bishop of Lincoln notwithstanding thereupon recited the third article, and required a direct answer. To whom Ridley said, "Christ, as St. Paul writeth, made one perfect sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, neither can any man reiterate that sacrifice of his; and yet is the communion an acceptable sacrifice to God of praise and thanksgiving: but to say that thereby sins are taken away (which wholly and perfectly was done by Christ's passion, of the which the communion is only a memory), that is a great derogation of the merits of Christ's passion: for the sacrament was instituted that we receiving it and thereby recognizing and remembering his passion, should be partakers of the merits of the same. For otherwise doth this sacrament take upon it the office of Christ's passion, whereby it might follow that Christ died in vain."

The notaries penned this his answer to be affirmatively. Then said the bishop of Lincoln, "Indeed as you allege out of St. Paul, Christ made one perfect oblation for all the whole world, that is, that bloody sacrifice upon the cross; yet nevertheless he hath left this sacrifice, but not bloody, in the remembrance of that by the which sins are forgiven: the which is no derogation of Christ's passion."

Then recited the bishop of Lincoln the fourth article. To the which Master Ridley answered:

"That in some part the fourth was true and in some

part false ; true, in that those his assertions were condemned as heresies, although unjustly ; false, in that it was said they were condemned *scientia scholastica*, in that the disputations were in such sort ordered, that it was far from any school act."

This answer penned of the notaries, the bishop of Lincoln rehearsed the fifth article. To the which he answered,

" That the premises were in such sort true, as in these his answers he had declared, whether that all men spake evil of them, he knew not, in that he came not so much abroad to hear what every man reported."

This answer written also of the notaries ; the bishop of Lincoln said, " To-morrow at eight of the clock you shall appear before us in St. Mary's church ; and then because we cannot well agree upon your answer to the first article, if it will please you to write, you shall have pen, ink, paper, and books such as you shall require, but if you write any thing saving your answer to these articles we will not receive it." So he charging the mayor with him, dismissed him, and sent for Master Latimer, who being brought to the divinity school, there tarried till they called for him. On his appearance before the judges he said, " My Lords, if I appear again, I pray you not to send for me until you be ready. For I am an old man, and it is great hurt to mine old age to tarry so long gazing upon the cold walls." This remonstrance was taken in good part by the bishop of Lincoln, who replied, " Master Latimer, I am sorry you are brought so soon, although it is the bayliff's fault, and not mine : but it shall be amended."

Then Master Latimer, says Fox, bowed his knee down to the ground, holding his hat in his hand, having a kerchief on his head, and upon it a night cap or two and a great cap such as townsmen use, with two broad flaps to button under the chin, wearing an old thread Bristol frise gown, girded to his body with a penny leather girdle, at the which hanged by a long string of leather his testament and his spectacles without case, depending about his neck upon his breast. After this the bishop of Lincoln began on this manner :

" Master Latimer, you shall understand that I and my

lords here have a commission from my lord cardinal Pole's grace, legate *a latere*, to this realm of England, from our most reverend father in God, the pope's holiness, to examine you upon certain opinions and assertions of yours, which you as well here openly in disputations in the year of our Lord 1554, as at sundry and divers other times, did affirm, maintain, and distinctly defend. In the which commission be specially two points; the one which we most desire you is, that if you shall now recant, revoke and disannul these your errors, and together with all this realm, yea all the world, confess the truth, we upon due repentance of your part should receive you, reconcile you, acknowledge you no longer a strayed sheep, but adjoin you again to the unity of Christ's church, from the which you in the time of schism fell: so that it is no new place to the which I exhort you; I desire you to return thither from whence you went.

“Consider, Master Latimer, that without the unity of the church is no salvation, and in the church can be no errors. Therefore what should stay you to confess that which all the realm confesseth, to forsake that which the king and queen their majesties have renounced and all the realm recanted? It was a common error, and it is now of all confessed: it shall be no more shame to you than it was to us all. Consider, Master Latimer, that within these twenty years this realm also with all the world confessed one church; acknowledged in Christ's church an head; and by what means and for what occasion it cut off itself from the rest of christianity, and renounced that which in all times and ages was confessed, it is well known and might be now declared upon what good foundation the see of Rome was forsaken, save that we must spare them that are dead, to whom the rehearsal would be opprobrious. It is no usurped power, as it hath been termed, but founded upon Peter, by Christ, a sure foundation, a perfect builder, as by divers places as well of the ancient fathers, as the express word of God may be proved.”

With that Master Latimer, which before leaned his head to his hand, began somewhat to remove his cap and kerchief from his ears.

The bishop proceeded, saying, "For Christ spake expressly to Peter saying, *Pasce oves meas, et rege oves meas*, the which word doth not only declare a certain ruling of Christ's flock, but includeth also a certain preeminence and government, and therefore is the king called *Rex à regendo*: so that in saying *rege*, Christ declared a power which he gave to Peter, which jurisdiction and power Peter by hand delivered to Clement: and so in all ages hath it remained in the see of Rome. This if you shall confess with us, and acknowledge with all the realm your errors and false assertions, then shall you do that which we most desire, then shall we rest upon the first part of our commission, then shall we receive you, acknowledge you one of the church, and according to the authority given unto us minister unto you upon due repentance, the benefit of absolution, to the which the king and queen their majesties were not ashamed to submit themselves, although they of themselves were unspotted, and therefore needed no reconciliation: yet least the putrifaction and rottenness of all the body might be noisome, and do damage to the head also, they (as I said) most humbly submitted themselves to my lord cardinal his grace, by him, as legate to the pope's holiness, to be partakers of the reconciliation. But if you shall stubbornly persevere in your blindness, if you will not acknowledge your errors; if you, as you stand now alone, will be singular in your opinions, if by schism and heresy you will divide yourself from our church, then must we proceed to the second part of the commission, which we would be lothe to do, that is, not to condemn you, for that we cannot do (that the temporal sword of the realm, and not we, will do), but to separate you from us, acknowledge you to be none of us, to renounce you as no member of the church, to declare that you are *filius perditionis*, a lost child, and as you are a rotten member of the church, so to cut you off from the church, and so to commit you to the temporal judges, permitting them to proceed against you, according to the tenor of their laws.

"Therefore, Master Latimer, for God's love consider your estate, remember you are a learned man, you have

taken degrees in the school, borne the office of a bishop; remember you are an old man, spare your body, accelerate not your death, and especially remember your soul's health, and quiet of your conscience; consider that if you should die in this state, you shall be a stinking sacrifice to God, for it is the cause that maketh the martyr, and not the death: consider that if you die in this state, you die without grace, for without the church can be no salvation. Let not vain-glory have the upper hand, humiliate yourself, captivate your understanding, subdue your reason, submit yourself to the determination of the church, do not force us to do all that we may do, let us rest in that part which we most heartily desire, and I, for my part (then the bishop put off his cap), again with all my heart exhort you."

After the bishop had somewhat paused then Master Latimer did lift up his head (for before he leaned on his elbow), and asked whether his lordship had said: and the bishop answered yea.

Latimer. Then will your lordship give me leave to speak a word or two?

Lincoln. Yea, Master Latimer, so that you use a modest kind of talk, without railing or taunts?

Latimer. I beseech your lordship, license me to sit down.

Lincoln. At your pleasure, Master Latimer, take as much ease as you will.

Latimer. Your lordship gently exhorted me in many words to come to the unity of the church. I confess, my lord, a Catholic church, spread throughout all the world, in the which no man may err, without the which unity of the church no man can be saved; but I know perfectly by God's word that this church is in all the world, and hath not his foundation in Rome only, as you say; and methought your lordship brought a place out of the scriptures to confirm the same, that there was a jurisdiction given to Peter, in that Christ bade him *regere*, govern his people. Indeed, my lord, Saint Peter did well and truly his office, in that he was bid *regere*; but since the bishops of Rome have taken a new kind of *regere*. Indeed they ought to *regere*, but how, my lord? not as they will themselves: but this

regere must be hedged in, and ditched in. They must *regere*, but *secundum verbum Dei*; they must rule, but according to the word of God. But the bishops of Rome have formed *regere secundum verbum Dei*, into *regere secundum voluntatem tuam*; they have turned the rule according to the word of God, into the rule according to their own pleasures, and as it pleaseth them best. There is a book set forth which hath divers points in it, and amongst other, this point is one which your lordship went about to prove by this word *regere*, and the argument which he bringeth forth for the proof of that matter, is taken out of Deuteronomy, where it is said: If there riseth any controversy among the people, as the priests of the order of Leviticus shall decide the matter according to the law of God: so it must be taken. This book perceiving this authority to be given to the priests of the old law taketh occasion to prove the same to be given to the bishops and other the clergy of the new law; but in proving this matter, where as it was said there, as the priests of the order of Leviticus should determine the matter according to God's law, that (*according to God's law*) is left out and only is recited, *as the priests of the order of Leviticus shall decide the matter*, so it ought to be taken of the people: a large authority I ensure you. What clipping of God's coin is this? (with the which terms the audience smiled). This is much like the *regere*, which your lordship talked of. Nay, nay, my lords, we may not give such authority to the clergy to rule all things as they will. Let them keep themselves within their commission. Now I trust, my lord, I do not rail yet."

Lincoln. No, Master Latimer, your talk is more like taunts than railing: but in that I have not read the book which you blame so much, nor know not of any such, I can say nothing therein.

Latimer. Yes, my lord, the book is open to be read, and is intituled to one which is bishop of Gloucester, whom I never knew, neither did at any time see him to my knowledge.

With that the people laughed, bishop of Gloucester sat

there in commission. Then the bishop of Gloucester stood up and said it was his book*.

Latimer. Was it yours, my lord? Indeed I knew not your lordship, neither ever did see you before, neither yet see you now, through the brightness of the sun shining betwixt you and me."

Then the audience laughed again: and Master Latimer spake unto them saying, "Why, my masters, this is no laughing matter. I answer upon life and death. *Væ vobis qui ridetis nunc, quoniam flebitis.*"

The bishop of Lincoln commanded silence, and then said, "Master Latimer, if you had kept yourself within your bounds, if you had not used such scoffs and taunts, this had not been done."

After this the bishop of Gloucester said in excusing of his book, "Master Latimer, hereby every man may see what learning you have."

Then Master Latimer interrupted him saying, "Lo, you look for learning at my hands which have gone so long to the school of oblivion, making the bare walls my library, keeping me so long in prison without book, or pen and ink; and now you let me loose to come and answer to articles. You deal with me as though two men were appointed to fight for life and death, and overnight the one through friends and favour is cherished, and hath good

* The book here alluded to is entitled "A Sermon very notable, fruitful, and godly, made at Paul's Cross, the 12th day of November, in the first year of the gracious reign of our sovereign lady queen Mary, by John Brookes, bishop of Gloucester." The passage alluded to by Latimer, and which even White appears to have treated with contempt, is this, "The Catholic church hath authority to judge and decide all matters of controversy in religion. For if the scripture of the old law, in Moses' time, was not made the high judge of controversies (being a thing itself in divers points called in controversy) but authority in judgment was given always by God's own mouth to the learned and elders of the synagogue, to whose judgment all were bound to stand, and that under pain of present death, as appeareth in the book of Deuteronomy (cap. xvii.); if we christians will not be counted in a worse state and condition than the Jews were, needs must we grant to the Catholic church like authority of judgment, for the decision of all controversies in our religion; when, if God did not assist evermore with the true intelligence of scripture, then should the scripture stand the church in as good stead, as a pair of spectacles should stand a blind friar."

counsel given him how to encounter with his enemy. The other for envy or lack of friends all the whole night is set in the stocks. In the morning when they shall meet, the one is in strength and lusty, the other is stark of his limbs, and almost dead for feebleness. Think you, that to run through this man with a spear is not a goodly victory?"

But the bishop of Gloucester interrupting his answer proceeded, saying, "I went not about to recite any places of scripture in that place of my book; for then if I had not recited it faithfully, you might have had just occasion of reprehension: but I only in that place formed an argument *à majore*, in this sense: that if in the old law the priests had power to decide matters of controversies, much more then ought the authority to be given to the clergy in the new law: and I pray you in this point what availeth the rehearsal, *secundum legem Dei*?"

Latimer. Yes, my lord, very much. For I acknowledge authority to be given to the spirituality to decide matter of religion, and as my lord said even now to *regere*; but they must do it *secundum verbum Dei*, and not *secundum voluntatem tuam*, according to the word and law of God, and not after their own will, after their own imaginations and fantasies."

The bishop of Gloucester would have spoke more, saying that the bishop of Lincoln said, that they came not to dispute with Master Latimer, but to take his determinate answers to their articles; and so began to propose the same articles which were proposed to Master Ridley. But Master Latimer interrupted him, speaking to the bishop of Gloucester, "Well, my lord, I could wish a more faithful dealing with God's word, and not to leave out a part, and such a part here and another there, but to rehearse the whole faithfully."

But the bishop of Lincoln not attending to this saying of Master Latimer, proceeded in rehearsing the articles, and required his answer to the first. Then Master Latimer making his protestation that notwithstanding these his answers it should not be taken that thereby he would acknowledge any authority of the bishop of Rome, saying that he was the king and queen their majesties' subject,

and not the pope's, neither could serve two masters at one time, except he should first renounce one of them: required the notaries so to take his protestation, that whatsoever he should say or do, it should not be taken as though he did thereby agree to any authority that came from the bishop of Rome.

The bishop of Lincoln said, that his protestation should be so taken; but he required him to answer briefly, affirmatively, or negatively to the first article, and so recited the same again: and Master Latimer answered as followeth: "I do not deny, my lord, that in the sacrament by spirit and grace is the very body and blood of Christ, because that every man by receiving bodily that bread and wine, spiritually receiveth the body and blood of Christ, and is made partaker thereby of the merits of Christ's passion: but I deny that the body and blood of Christ is in such sort in the sacrament as you would have it."

Lincoln. Then, Master Latimer, you answer affirmatively.

Latimer. Yea, if you mean of that gross and carnal being, which you do take.

The notaries took his answer to be affirmatively.

Lincoln. What say you, Master Latimer, to the second article? and recited the same.

Latimer. There is, my lord, a change in the bread and wine, and such a change as no power but the omnipotency of God can make, in that which before was bread, should now have that dignity to exhibit Christ's body; and yet the bread is still bread, and the wine still wine: for the change is not in the nature, but in the dignity, because now that which was common bread hath the dignity to exhibit Christ's body; for whereas it was common bread, neither ought it to be so taken, but as holy bread sanctified by God's word.

With that the bishop of Lincoln smiled, saying:

Lo, Master Latimer, see what steadfastness is in your doctrine: that which you abhorred and despised most, you now most establish: for whereas you most railed at holy bread, you now make your communion holy bread.

Latimer. Tush, a rush for holy bread. I say the bread in the communion, is an holy bread indeed.

But the bishop of Lincoln interrupted him, and said :
“ O you make a difference between holy bread and holy bread.” (With that the audience laughed.)

Well, Master Latimer, is not this your answer, that the substance of bread and wine remaineth after the words of consecration ?

Latimer. Yes verily, it must needs be so. For Christ himself calleth it bread, St. Paul calleth it bread, the doctors confesseth the same, the nature of a sacrament confirmeth the same ; and I call it holy bread, not in that I make no difference betwixt your holy bread and this, but for the holy office which it beareth, that is, to be a figure of Christ's body, and not only a true figure, but effectually to represent the same.

So the notaries penned his answer to be affirmatively.

Lincoln. What say you to the third question ? and recited the same.

Latimer. No, no, my lord, Christ made one perfect sacrifice for all the whole world, neither can any man offer him again, neither can the priest offer up Christ again for the sins of man, which he took away *by offering himself once for all* (as Saint Paul saith), upon the cross, neither is there any propitiation for our sins, saving his cross only.

So the notaries penned his answer to this article also to be affirmatively.

Lincoln. What say you to the fourth, Master Latimer ? and recited it. After the recital whereof, when Master Latimer answered not, the bishop asked him whether he heard him or no ?

Latimer. Yes ; but I do not understand what you mean thereby.

Lincoln. Marry, only this, that these your assertions were condemned by Master Doctor Weston as heresies ; is it not so, Master Latimer ?

Latimer. Yes, I think they were condemned. But how unjustly, he that shall be judge of all knoweth.

So the notaries took his answer to this article also to be affirmatively.

Lincoln. What say you, Master Latimer, to the fifth article ? and recited it.

Latimer. I know not what you mean by these terms ; I am no lawyer, I would you would propose the matter plainly.

Lincoln. In that we proceed according to the law, we must use their terms also. The meaning only is this, that these your assertions are notorious, evil spoken of, and yet common and frequent in the mouths of the people.

Latimer. I cannot tell how much nor what men talk of them. I come not so much among them, in that I have been secluded a long time. What men report of them I know not, nor care not.

This answer taken, the bishop of Lincoln said : “ Master Latimer, we mean not that these your answers shall be prejudicial to you. To-morrow you shall appear before us again, and then it shall be lawful for you to alter and change what you will. We give you respite till to-morrow, trusting that after you have pondered well all things against to-morrow, you will not be ashamed to confess the truth.

Latimer. Now, my lord, I pray you give me license in three words to declare the causes why I have refused the authority of the pope.

Lincoln. Nay, Master Latimer, to-morrow you shall have license to speak forty words.

Latimer. Nay, my lords, I beseech you to do with me now, as it shall please your lordships : I pray you let not me be troubled to-morrow again.

Lincoln. Yes, Master Latimer, you must needs appear again to-morrow.

Latimer. Truly, my lord, as for my part I require no respite for I am at a point ; you shall give me respite in vain. Therefore, I pray you, let me not trouble you to-morrow.

Lincoln. Yes ; for we trust God will work with you against to-morrow. There is no remedy ; you must needs appear again to-morrow, at eight of the clock, in St. Mary's church.

The next day following, which was the 1st of October, somewhat after eight in the morning, the lords repaired to St. Mary's church, and after they were set on a high throne, well trimmed with cloth of tissue and silk, then appeared

Master Ridley, who was set at a framed table a good space from the bishops' feet, which table had a silk cloth cast over it, and the place was compassed about with framed seats in quadrate form, partly for gentlemen who repaired thither, for this was the session day of gaol delivery, and the heads of the university to sit, and partly to keep off the press of the audience; for the whole body, as well of the university, as of the town, came to see the end of these two persons.

The bishop of Lincoln began, as he did the day before, with ordering the head of the prisoner to be uncovered, and then proceeded to a recapitulation of his former argument respecting the sovereignty of the Roman over all other churches.

"Yesterday," said he, "I brought forth, amongst others, St. Austin, to prove that authority hath always been given to the see of Rome, and you wrested the words far contrary to St. Austin's meaning, in that you would have *totus mundus* to be applied only to Europe, which is but the third part of all the world, whereas indeed the process of St. Augustine's words will not admit that your interpretation. For he saith not, *totus mundus Christianus in transmarinis*, &c., but first, *totus mundus Christianus Romanæ Ecclesiæ subjectus est*, 'All the christian world is subject to the church of Rome,' and afterwards addeth, *in transmarinis partibus*, 'beyond the sea,' but only to augment the dominion of the see of Rome."

But Ridley still persevered in his former answer, saying, "I am sure, my lord, you have some skill in cosmography, in the which you shall understand that there is a sea called *Mare Mediterraneum*, cast between Europe and Africa, in the which he meant Europe beyond the sea, even as I should say, the whole world beyond the sea, excepting England, in the which I stand."

After a long discourse upon this trifling question, the introduction of which was as cruel as it was impertinent, White insisted upon it that the meaning of Austin might be known by the consent of other doctors whose names he mentioned. But Ridley demanded a rehearsal of the places,

and the very words of the doctors, saying "that those which perhaps the bishop repeated, being propounded in other terms in the authors would admit a contrary meaning and interpretation ; but in that the book out of which the bishop rehearsed them was none of the doctors, and only the sentences drawn from them, by some studious man, he could not recite their very words."

After this he came to Cyrillus, who, as he said, made against Ridley in the sacrament, and for proof of it alleged the acknowledgment of Melancthon, but when that author was called for he was not to be found, all the protestant books having been burned a little before. The bishop then went to another argument as curious and cogent as the former.

"Cyrillus," said he, "proving to the Jews that Christ was come, useth this reason ; altars are erected in Christ's name in Britain and far countries, *ergo*, Christ is come. But we may use the contrary of that reason ; altars are plucked down in Britain, *ergo*, Christ is not come. A good argument, *à contrariis*. I will stand to it in the schools, by and with any man. Ye see what a good argument this your doctrine maketh for the Jews, to prove that Christ is not come."

Doctor Ridley smiling, as well he might, answered ; "Your lordship is not ignorant that this word 'altar' in the scripture, signifieth as well the altar whereupon the Jews were wont to make their burnt sacrifices, as the table of the Lord's supper. Cyrillus meaneth there, by this word *altar*, not that the Jewish altar, but the table of the Lord ; and by that saying, 'altars are erected in Christ's name, *ergo*, Christ is come,' he meaneth that the communion is ministered in his remembrance, *ergo*, Christ is come ; for the strength of his argument is, because the remembrance of a thing cannot be, except the thing itself be past : then could not all the countries celebrate the communion in remembrance of Christ's passion, except Christ had come and suffered. As for the taking down of the altars, it was done upon just consideration, for that they seemed to come too nigh to the Jews' usage. Neither was the supper of the Lord at any time better ministered, or more duly received

than in these latter days, when all things were brought to the rites and usage of the primitive church."

Lincoln. A godly receiving, I promise you, to set an oyster table instead of an altar, and to come from puddings at Westminster to receive; and yet when your table was constituted, you could never be content, in placing the same now east, now north, now one way, now another, until it pleased God of his goodness to place it clean out of the church.

Ridley. Your unreverent terms do not elevate the thing. Perhaps some men came more devoutly from puddings than other men do from other things.

Lincoln. As for that, Master Ridley, you ought to be judge of no man: but by this your reasoning you cause us to stretch and enlarge our instructions. We came not to reason, but to take your determinate answers to our articles.

Then the bishop read the first article, and said, "Now, Master Ridley, what say you, if you have brought your answer in writing we will receive it, but if you have written any other matter, we will not receive it."

Then Ridley took a sheet of paper out of his bosom, and began to read that which he had written; but the bishop of Lincoln commanded the beadle to take it from him. But he desired license to read it, saying that it was nothing but his answers, but the bishop would in no wise suffer him.

Ridley. Why, my lord, will you require my answer, and not suffer me to publish it? I beseech you, my lord, let the audience bear witness in this matter. Your lordships may handle it at your pleasure; therefore let the audience be witnesses to your doings.

Lincoln. Well, Master Ridley, we will first see what you have written; and then if we shall think it good to be read, you shall have it published; but except you will deliver it first, we will take none at all of you.

With that, Ridley, seeing no remedy, delivered it to an officer; but after the bishop of Lincoln had consulted with his colleagues, he refused to read it, saying that it contained words of blasphemy, therefore he would not fill the ears of the audience therewithal, and so abuse their patience.

The same altercation took place in regard to the other articles, after which the bishop of Gloucester made the following speech to Ridley :

“ If you would once empty your stomach, captivate your senses, subdue your reason, and together with us consider what a feeble ground of your religion you have, I do not doubt but you might easily be perduced to acknowledge one church with us, to confess one faith with us, and to believe one religion with us. For what a weak and feeble stay in religion is this, I pray you? Latimer leaneth to Cranmer, Cranmer to Ridley, and Ridley to the singularity of his own wit: so that if you overthrow the singularity of Ridley’s wit, then must needs the religion of Cranmer and Latimer fall also. You remember, Master Ridley, that the prophet speaketh most truly, saying, ‘ Woe, woe, be to them which are singular and wise in their own conceits.’ But you will say here, it is true that the prophet saith; but how know you that I am wise in mine own conceit? Yes, Master Ridley, you refuse the determination of the Catholic church, you must needs be singular and wise in your own conceit, for you bring scripture for the probation of your assertions, and we also bring scriptures: you understand them in one sense, and we in another. How will ye know the truth herein? If you stand to your own interpretation, then you are singular in your own conceit; but if you say you will follow the minds of the doctors and ancient fathers, semblably, you understand them in one meaning, and we take them in another, how will ye know the truth herein? If you stand to your own judgment then are you singular in your own conceit, then can you not avoid the woe which the prophet speaketh of. Wherefore, if you have no stay but the Catholic church in matters of controversy, except you will rest upon the singularity and wisdom of your own brain, if the prophet most truly saith, ‘ Woe, woe, be to them that are wise in their own conceit;’ then for God’s love, Master Ridley, stand not singular, be not you wise in your own conceit, please not yourself overmuch. How were the Arians, the Manichees, the Eutychians, with other divers heretics, which have been in the church, how I pray you were they suppressed and convinced? by rea-

soning in disputations? No, truly the Arians had more places of scripture for the confirmation of their heresy, than the Catholics for the defence of the truth*. How then were they convinced? only by the determination of the church. And indeed except we do constitute the church our foundation, stay, and judge, we can have no end of controversies, no end of disputations. For in that we all bring scriptures and doctors for the probation of our assertions, who should be judge of this our controversy? If we ourselves, then be singular and wise in our own conceits, then cannot we avoid the woe that the prophet speaketh of. It remaineth therefore, that we submit ourselves to the determination and arbitrement of the church, with whom God promised to remain to the world's end, to whom he promised to send the Holy Ghost, which should teach it the truth. Wherefore, Master Ridley, if you will avoid the woe that the prophet speaketh of, be not you wise in your own judgment: if you will not be wise and singular in your own judgment, captivate your own understanding, subdue your reason, and submit yourself to the determination of the church."

This flourishing oration, bishop Ridley answered in few words, that he said most truly with the prophet, woe be to him which is wise in his own conceit, but that he acknowledged no such singularity in himself, neither did he know any cause why he should. And whereas Brookes said that Master Cranmer did cleave to him it was untrue, for that he was but a young scholar in comparison of Master Cranmer: for at the time when he was a young scholar, Master Cranmer was a doctor; so that he confessed as Cranmer might have been his schoolmaster these many years.

Here Brookes interrupted him by saying, Why, Master

* This concession to the Arians, that the scripture was on their side, ought not to be overlooked, since it shews that the word of God itself, according to the Roman creed, is of inferior authority to the church. Somewhat similar to this barefaced piece of blasphemy, was the assertion of Petavius, who to weaken the force of that evidence which the protestant cause derives from the New Testament, and the writings of the early fathers, made no scruple of allowing that the one had a Socinian meaning and that the others were not sound in the faith.

Ridley, it is your own confession, for Master Latimer at the time of his disputations confessed his learning to lie in Master Cranmer's books, and Master Cranmer also said that it was your doing.

Then the bishop of Lincoln put a stop to the discourse, by desiring Ridley to turn, but he made answer that he was fully persuaded the religion which he defended was grounded upon God's word, and therefore without great offence towards God, great peril and damage of his soul, he could not forsake his master and Lord God; but desired the bishop to perform his grant, in that his lordship said the day before he should have license to shew his cause, why he could not with a safe conscience admit the authority of the pope; but the bishop of Lincoln said, that whereas then he had demanded license to speak three words, he was contented then that he should speak forty, and that grant he would perform.

Then stepped forth Weston and said, Why, my lord, he hath spoken four hundred already.

Ridley confessed he had, but that they were not of his prescribed number and did not relate to the matter. The bishop of Lincoln upon this bade him take his license; but said that he should speak no more than forty, and that he would tell them upon his fingers. Before however Ridley had ended half a sentence, the doctors who sat by cried out that his number was out, and with that he was put to silence.

Then the bishop of Lincoln said, Now I perceive, Master Ridley, you will not permit nor suffer us to stay in that point of our commission which we most desired. For I ensure you there is never a word in our commission more true than *dolentes et gementes*. For indeed, I for my part, take God to witness I am sorry for you. Whereunto Ridley answered, I believe it well, my lord, forasmuch as one day it will be burdenous to your soul.

To this observation Lincoln replied, "Nay not so, Master Ridley, but because I am sorry to see such stubbornness in you, that by no means you may be persuaded to acknowledge your errors, and receive the truth: but seeing it is so, because you will not suffer us to persist in the first, we

must necessarily proceed to the other part of our commission. Therefore, I pray you hearken what I shall say : and forthwith he read the sentence of condemnation which was written in a long process, to this effect, that for as much as the said Nicholas Ridley did affirm, maintain, and stubbornly defend certain opinions, assertions, and heresies, contrary to the word of God, and the received faith of the church, as in denying the true and natural body of Christ, and his natural blood to be the sacrament of the altar ; secondarily, in affirming the substance of bread and wine to remain after the words of consecration : thirdly, in denying the mass to be a lively sacrifice of the church for the quick and the dead, and by no means would be perduced and brought from these his heresies ; they therefore, the said John of Lincoln, James of Gloucester, and John of Bristol, did judge and condemn the said Nicholas Ridley as an heretic, and so adjudged him presently both by word and also in deed to be degraded from the degree of a bishop, from priesthood, and all ecclesiastical order : declaring moreover the said Nicholas Ridley to be no member of the church, and therefore committed him to the secular powers, of them to receive due punishment according to the tenor of the temporal laws ; and further excommunicating him by the great excommunication."

This sentence having been pronounced and the prisoner taken away in the custody of the mayor, Latimer was sent for ; but in the mean season, says Fox, the carpet or cloth was removed, because, as it was reported, the one had taken the degree of a doctor and the other not.

When however the bishop appeared, and perceived that there was no cloth upon the table, he laid his hat, which was an old felt, under his elbows, and immediately spake to the commissioners, saying, " My lords, I beseech your lordships to set a better order here at your entrance ; for I am an old man and have a very evil back, so that the press of the multitude doth me much harm."

Lincoln. I am sorry, Master Latimer, for your hurt. At your departure we will see to better order.

With that Master Latimer thanked his lordship making

a very low courtesy. After this the bishop of Lincoln began in this manner :

“ Master Latimer, although yesterday after we had taken your answers to those articles which we proposed, we might have justly proceeded to judgment against you, especially in that you required the same ; yet we having a good hope of your returning, desiring not your destruction, but rather that you would recant, revoke your errors, and turn to the Catholic church, deferred farther process till this day ; and now according to the appointment we have called you here before us, to hear whether you are content to revoke your heretical assertions, and submit yourself to the determination of the church, as we most heartily desire ; and I for my part, as I did yesterday, most earnestly do exhort you, either to know whether you persevere still the man that you were, for the which we would be sorry.”

It seemeth that the bishop would have further proceeded, saving that Master Latimer interrupted him saying, “ Your lordship often doth repeat the catholic church, as though I should deny the same. No, my lord, I confess there is a catholic church, to the determination of the which I will stand, but not the church which you call catholic, which sooner might be termed diabolick ; and whereas you join together the Romish and Catholic church, stay there, I pray you. For it is another thing to say, Romish church, and another thing to say Catholic church. I must use here in this mine answer, the counsel of Cyprianus, who at what time he was ascited before certain bishops that gave him leave to take deliberation and consent to try and examine his opinion, he answered them thus : In sticking and persevering in the truth, there must no counsel nor deliberation be taken. And again being demanded of them sitting in judgment, which was most like to be of the church of Christ, either he which was persecuted, either they which did persecute ; ‘ Christ,’ said he, ‘ hath fore-shewed that he that doth follow him, must take up his cross and follow him.’ Christ gave knowledge that the disciples should have persecution and trouble. How think you then, my lords, is it like that the see of Rome, which hath been a continual persecutor, is rather the church, or

that small flock which hath continually been persecuted of it even to death? Also the flock of Christ hath been but few in comparison to the residue, and ever in subjection," which he proved, beginning at Noah's time even to the apostles.

Lincoln. Your cause and Saint Cyprian's is not one, but clean contrary, for he suffered persecution for Christ's sake and the gospel: but you are in trouble for your errors and false assertions, contrary to the word of God, and the received truth of the church.

Master Latimer interrupting him said, Yes, verily, my cause is as good as Saint Cyprian's, for his was for the word of God, and so is mine.

— But Lincoln goeth forth in his talk, "Also at the beginning and foundation of the church, it could not be but that the apostles should suffer great persecution. Further, before Christ's coming continually there were very few which truly served God, but after his coming began the time of grace; then began the church to increase, and was continually augmented, until it came into this perfection, and now hath justly that jurisdiction which the unchristian princes before by tyranny did resist; there is a divers consideration of the estate of the church now in the time of grace and before Christ's coming. But, Master Latimer, although we had instructions given us determinately to take your answer to such articles as we should propose, without any reasoning or disputations, yet we hoping by talk somewhat to prevail with you, appointed you to appear before us yesterday in the divinity school, a place for disputations. And whereas then notwithstanding you had license to say your mind, and were answered to every matter, yet you could not be brought from your errors; we thinking that from that time ye would with good advisement consider your state, gave you respite from that time yesterday when we dismissed you, until this time, and now have called you again here in this place, by your answers to learn whether you are the same man you was then or no. Therefore we will propose unto you the same articles which we did then, and require of you a determinate

answer, without further reasoning." Then the bishop recited the first article.

Latimer. Always my protestation saved, that by these mine answers it should not be thought that I did condescend and agree to your lordships' authority in that you are legated by authority of the pope, so that thereby I might seem to consent to his jurisdiction, to the first article I answer now as I did yesterday, that in the sacrament the worthy receiver receiveth the very body of Christ, and drinketh his blood by spirit and grace. But after a corporeal being which the Romish church prescribeth, Christ's body and blood is not in the sacrament, under the forms of bread and wine.

The notaries took his answer to be affirmatively. For the second article he referred himself to his answers made before.

After this the bishop of Lincoln recited the third article, and required a determinate answer.

Latimer. Christ made one oblation and sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, and that a perfect sacrifice, neither needeth there to be any other, neither can there be any other propitiatory sacrifice.

The notaries took his answer to be affirmatively.

In this manner did he answer to the other articles, not varying from his answers made the day before. After his answers were penned of the notaries, and the bishop of Lincoln had exhorted him to recant and revoke his errors and false assertions, and Master Latimer had answered that he neither could nor would deny his master Christ, and his verity, the bishop desired him to hearken; and then Master Latimer hearkening for some new matter and other talk, the bishop read his condemnation, after the publication of which the commissioners brake up the session and dismissed the audience.

But Master Latimer required the bishop of Lincoln to perform his promise in saying the day before, that he should have license briefly to declare the cause why he refused the pope's authority. But the bishop said, that now he could not hear him, neither ought to talk with him.

Then Master Latimer asked him whether it were not lawful for him to appeal from this his judgment. And when the bishop asked him again to whom he would appeal, he answered, "to the next general council, which shall be truly called in God's name."

With that appeal, says Fox, the bishop was content; but he said it would be a long season before such a convocation as he meant would be called.

Then the bishop committed Master Latimer to the charge of the magistrate: "Now he is your prisoner, Master Mayor;" but because the press of the people was not diminished, each man looking for farther process, the bishop of Lincoln commanded avoidance and willed Master Latimer to tarry till the press were lessened, lest he should take hurt at his egression as he did at his entrance.

It merits observation in this place, that though the ecclesiastical judges pretended that they did no more than cut off these heretics from the body of the church, thereby affecting to be clear of their blood, it is a fact that the martyrs never appeared before a civil tribunal nor did they receive any sentence by virtue of which they suffered, but that which was passed upon them by the bishop of Lincoln. Yet neither this prelate, nor even Bonner, was ever called upon in the following reign to answer for the barbarities which they had committed; the loss of their preferments being on another account, and they might have even retained them had they yielded on the point of supremacy. Such was the difference between the protestant ascendancy and that of popery.

In the short interval between the condemnation and execution, attempts were made to shake the faith of the two bishops, but neither argument, promises, nor the prospect of death could remove them from that foundation on which alone they rested in sure and certain hope of everlasting life. Among others who went to visit them, after their sentence, was Peter Soto, a Spanish dominican and confessor to king Philip, but though Ridley heard and answered him, it seems that Latimer who had no inclination to waste his precious hours in disputing, refused even to see the friar.

On the day previous to the execution, Ridley was compelled to undergo the solemn mockery of degradation, which idle ceremony was performed with brutal buffoonery by Brookes and his assistants*. But it does not appear that any formality of this kind was observed towards Latimer; which is remarkable, because though he had long ceased being a bishop, he was still a priest at all events, and ought therefore, according to the Roman custom, to have been deprived of his ecclesiastical character.

The last scene in this dreadful tragedy, which took place in the morning of the sixteenth of October, cannot be given in better language than that of the plain and honest martyrologist, whose narrative we have for the most part followed all along. "Upon the north side of the town," says he, "in the ditch over against Baliol College, the place of execution was appointed; and for fear of any tumult that might arise to prevent the burning of them, the lord Williams was commanded by the queen's letters, and the householders of the city to be there assistant, sufficiently appointed, and when every thing was in readiness, the prisoners were brought forth by the mayor and the bailiffs. Master Ridley had a fair black gown furred, and faced with foinés, such as he was wont to wear being bishop, and a tippet of velvet furred likewise about his neck, a velvet night cap upon his head, and a corner cap upon the same, going in a pair of slippers to the stake between the mayor and an alderman.

After him came Master Latimer in a poor Bristol frieze frock all worn, with his buttoned cap, and a kerchief on his head, all ready to the fire, a new long shroud hanging over his hose down to the feet; which, at first sight stirred men's hearts to rue upon them, beholding on the one side, the honour they some time had: on the other the calamity whereunto they were fallen.

Master Doctor Ridley as he passed towards Bocardo, looked up where Master Cranmer did lie, hoping belike

* Peirce, in his "Vindication of the Dissenters," (Ed. 1717, p. 31.) would fain infer from the conduct and language of Ridley, at the time of his degradation, that he was inimical to the episcopal habits, when, in fact, he actually went so arrayed of his own accord to the stake.

to have seen him at the glass window, and to have spoken unto him. But then Master Cranmer was busy with friar Soto and his fellows disputing together, so that he could not see him through that occasion. Then Master Ridley looking back espied Master Latimer coming after: unto whom he said, "Oh be ye there." "Yea," said Master Latimer, "have after as fast as I can follow." So, he following a pretty way off, at length they came both to the stake, the one after the other: where Doctor Ridley first entering the place, marvellous earnestly holding up both his hands, looked towards heaven; then shortly after espying Master Latimer with a wondrous cheerful look, ran to him, embraced and kissed him, and as they that stood near reported, comforted him, saying, "Be of good heart, brother, for God will either assuage the fury of the flame, or else strengthen us to abide it."

With that went he to the stake, kneeled down by it, kissed it, most effectuously prayed; and behind him Master Latimer kneeled, as fervently calling upon God as he. After they arose, the one talked with the other a little while, till they which were appointed to see the execution removed themselves out of the sun.

Then Doctor Smith, of whose recantation an account has already been given, began his sermon to them, upon this text of St. Paul in the 13th chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians, *Si corpus meum tradam igni, charitatem autem non habeam, nihil inde utilitatis capio*, that is, "If I yield my body to the fire, to be burned, and have not charity, I shall gain nothing thereby." Wherein he alleged that the goodness of the cause and not the order of death, maketh the holiness of the person: which he confirmed by the examples of Judas, and of a woman in Oxford that of late hanged herself, for that they and such like as he recited, might then be adjudged righteous which respectively sundered their lives from their bodies, as he feared that those men that stood before him would do. But he cried still to the people to beware of them, for they were heretics, and died out of the church. And on the other side he declared their diversities in opinions, as Lutherans, Oecolampadians, Zuinglians, of which sect

they were, he said, and that was the worst : but the old church of Christ and the Catholic faith, believed far otherwise. At which place they lifted up both their hands and eyes to heaven, as it were calling to God to witness of the truth. The which countenance they made in many other places of his sermon, where as they thought he spake amiss. He ended with a very short exhortation to them, to recant and come home again to the church, and save their lives and souls, which else were condemned. His sermon was scant, in all a quarter of an hour.

Doctor Ridley said to Master Latimer, " Will you begin to answer the sermon, or shall I ? " Master Latimer said, " Begin you first, I pray you. " " I will, " said Master Ridley.

Then the wicked sermon being ended, Doctor Ridley and Master Latimer kneeled down upon their knees towards my lord Williams, of Tame, the vice-chancellor of Oxford, and divers other commissioners appointed for that purpose, which sat upon a form thereby. Unto whom Master Ridley said, " I beseech you, my lord, even for Christ's sake, that I may speak two or three words. " And whilst my lord bent his head to the mayor and vice-chancellor, to know, (as it appeared), whether he might give him leave to speak, the bailiffs, and Doctor Marshall, vice-chancellor, ran hastily to him, and with their hands stopped his mouth, and said, " Master Ridley, if you will revoke your erroneous opinions, and recant the same, you shall not only have liberty so to do, but also the benefit of a subject, that is, have your life. " " Not otherwise ? " said Master Ridley. " No, " quoth Doctor Marshall, " therefore, if you will not so do, then there is no remedy, but you must suffer for your deserts. " " Well, " quoth Master Ridley, " so long as the breath is in my body, I will never deny my Lord Christ, and his known truth ; God's will be done in me. " And with that he rose up, and said with a loud voice, " Well, then, I commit our cause to Almighty God, which shall indifferently judge all. " To whose saying Master Latimer added his old posy, " Well, there is nothing hid but it shall be opened : " and he said he could answer Smith well enough if he might be suffered. Incontinently they were commanded

to make them ready, which they with all meekness obeyed. Master Ridley took his gown and his tippet, and gave them to his brother-in-law, Master Shepside, who all his time of imprisonment, although he might not be suffered to come to him, lay there, at his own charges, to provide him necessaries, which, from time to time, he sent him by the serjeant that kept him. Some other of his apparel that was little worth he gave away: others the bailiffs took. He gave away besides divers other small things to gentlemen standing by, and divers of them pitifully weeping; as to Sir Henry Lee, he gave a new groat, and to divers of my lord Williams's gentlemen, some napkins, some nutmegs, and races of ginger, his dial and such other things as he had about him to every one that stood next him. Some plucked the points of his hose. Happy was he that might get a rag of him*.

Master Latimer gave nothing, but very quietly suffered his keeper to pull off his hose, and other array, which to look unto was very simple: and being stripped unto his shroud, he seemed as comely a person to them that were there present, as one should lightly see; and whereas in his clothes, he appeared a withered and crooked silly old man, he now stood, bolt upright, as comely a father as one might lightly behold.

Then Master Ridley, standing as yet in his truss, said to his brother, "It were better for me to go in my truss still?" "No;" quoth his brother, "it will put you to more pain, and the truss will do a poor man good." Whereunto Master Ridley said, "Be it, in the name of God," and so unlaced himself. Then, being in his shirt, he held up his hands, and said, "Oh heavenly Father, I give unto thee most hearty thanks, for that thou hast called me to be a professor of thee, even unto death. I beseech thee, Lord God, take mercy upon this realm of England, and deliver the same from all her enemies."

Then the smith took a chain of iron, and brought the

* To such a length did popish malice go that the distribution of these little memorials was inveighed against as proof of spiritual pride on the part of the martyr, and of superstition on that of the persons who obtained them.

same about both Doctor Ridley's and Master Latimer's middles: and as he was knocking in a staple, Doctor Ridley took the chain in his hand, and shook the same, for it did gird in his belly, and looking aside to the smith, said, "Good fellow, knock it in hard: for the flesh will have its course." Then his brother did bring him gunpowder in a bag, and would have tied the same about his neck. Master Ridley asked what it was. His brother said gunpowder. "Then," said he, "I take it to be sent of God; therefore I will receive it as sent of him. And have you any," said he, "for my brother," meaning Master Latimer. "Yea, Sir, that I have," quoth his brother. "Then give it unto him," said he, "betime, lest ye come too late." So his brother went and carried of the same gunpowder unto Master Latimer*.

In the mean time, Doctor Ridley spake unto my lord Williams, and said, "My lord, I must be a suitor unto your lordship in the behalf of divers poor men, and specially in the cause of my poor sister. I have made a supplication to the queen's majesty in their behalfs. I beseech your lordship, for Christ's sake, to be a mean to her grace for them. My brother here hath the supplication, and will resort to your lordship to certify you thereof. There is nothing in all the world that troubleth my conscience, (I praise God) this only excepted. Whiles I was in the see of London, divers poor men took leases of me, and agreed with me for the same. Now I hear say the bishop that now occupieth the same room, will not allow my grants unto them made, but contrary unto all law and conscience, hath taken from them their livings, and will not suffer them to enjoy the same. I

* Even this justifiable mode of shortening the dreadful moments of the martyrs has been made use of to vilify the character of the sufferers, and to throw an odium on the cause for which they laid down their lives. Thomas Dorman, a Romish exile, who had been fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford, writing against bishop Jewell, in 1564, says that he witnessed the execution of Ridley and Latimer, and saw the gunpowder applied to put them out of their misery, "a practice," he then adds, with bitter irony, "that agreed not with the martyrdom of Polycarp." Wood calls this inhuman wretch, who after the lapse of near twenty years, exulted with savage ferocity over the bloody scene which his eyes had beheld, "a learned and pious man!"—*Athen. Oxon.* i. 183,

beseech you, my lord, be a mean for them, you shall do a good deed, and God will reward you*."

Then they brought a fagot kindled with fire, and laid the same down at Doctor Ridley's feet; to whom Master Latimer spake in this manner: "Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man; we shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as I trust shall never be put out."

And so the fire being given unto them, when Doctor Ridley saw the fire flaming up towards him, he cried with a wonderful loud voice, *In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum: Domine, recipe spiritum meum*; and after repeated this latter part often in English, "Lord, Lord, receive my spirit." Master Latimer, crying as vehemently on the other side, "Oh, Father of Heaven, receive my soul," who received the flame, as it were embracing of it. After that he had stroked his face with his hands, and, as it were, bathed them a little in the fire, he soon died, as it appeared, with very little pain, or none. And thus much concerning the end of this old and blessed servant of God, Master Latimer, for whose laborious travels, fruitful life, and constant death, the whole realm hath cause to give great thanks to Almighty God.

In addition to this account, by Fox, it may be proper to give that of Austin Bernher, who, there is every reason to suppose, was present at the martyrdom of his master. "In the utmost extremity," says he, "the Lord graciously assisted him; for when he stood at the stake, without Bocardo gate, at Oxford, and the tormentors were about to set fire upon him, and that most reverend father, Doctor Ridley, he lifted up his eyes towards heaven, with a most amiable and comfortable countenance, saying these words: *Fidelis est Deus, qui non sinit nos tentari supra id quod possumus*, 'God is faithful, which doth not suffer us to be tempted above our strength;' and so afterward, by and by, shed his blood in the cause of Christ, the which blood ran

* Thus it appears that the dishonesty of Bonner was equal to his cruelty, for a greater piece of knavery could not well be than that of robbing men of the property which they had obtained by purchase from his predecessor, who had a legal right to grant those leases.

out of his heart in such abundance, that all those present did marvel to see the most part of the blood so to be gathered to his heart, and with such violence to gush out, his body being opened by the force of the fire."

Thus the sufferings of this aged saint, however painful, were but short and light, when compared with those of his brother martyr, the relation of whose torments cannot be read without horror.

"Master Ridley," says Fox, "by reason of the evil making of the fire unto him, because the wooden fagots were laid about the goss, and over high built, the fire burned first beneath, being kept down by the wood, which, when he felt, he desired them, for Christ's sake, to let the fire come unto him, which, when his brother-in-law heard, but not well understood, intending to rid him out of his pain, as one in such sorrow, not well advised what he did, heaped fagots upon him, so that he clean covered him, which made the fire more vehement beneath, that it burned clean all his nether parts, before it once touched the upper, and that made him leap up and down, under the fagots, and often desire them to let the fire come unto him, saying, 'I cannot burn,' which indeed appeared well: for after his legs were consumed, by reason of his struggling through the pain, whereof he had no release but only his contentation in God, he shewed that side towards us clean, shirt and all, untouched with the flame. Yet, in all this torment, he forgot not to call unto God, still having in his mouth, 'Lord, have mercy upon me,' intermingling this cry, 'Let the fire come unto me, I cannot burn.' In which pains he laboured, till one of the standers-by, with his bill, pulled off the fagots above, and where he saw the fire blaze up, he wrested himself unto that side. And when the flame touched the gunpowder, he was seen to stir no more, but turned on the other side, falling down at Master Latimer's feet; which some said happened by reason that the chain loosened; others said that he fell over the chain, by reason of the poise of his body, and the weakness of the nether limbs. Some said, that before he was like to fall from the stake, he desired them to hold him to it with their bills. Howsoever it was, surely it moved hundreds to

tears in beholding this horrible sight. For I think there was none, that had not clean exiled all humanity and mercy, which would not have lamented to behold the fury of the fire so to rage in their bodies. Signs there were of sorrow on every side. Some took it grievously to see their deaths, whose lives they held full dear. Some pitied their persons that thought their souls had no need thereof. But whoso considered their preferments in times past, the places of honour that they had sometime occupied in this commonwealth, the favour they were in with their princes, and the opinion of learning they had, could not choose but sorrow with tears, to see so great dignity, honour, and estimation, so necessary members sometime accounted, so many godly virtues, the study of so many years, such excellent learning to be put into the fire and consumed in one moment. Well, dead they are, and the reward of this world they have already. What reward remaineth for them in heaven, the day of the Lord's glory when he cometh with his saints, shall shortly I trust declare."

The dying declaration of Latimer was verified, for the immolation of him and his fellow martyr, instead of extinguishing proved the means of spreading the light of the gospel, both in England and abroad, so that to use the words of Tertullian, the flames with which they were enveloped were to them robes of glory, and the funeral pyre was their triumphal chariot.

One convert we know to have been made by this terrifically magnificent spectacle, and this was Mr. Julius Palmer, fellow of Magdalen College. He had been up to the moment of the present sacrifice, a most rigid papist, insomuch that in the late reign he was deprived of his fellowship on account of his zealous opposition to the reformed liturgy. During the disputations between the bishops and the popish doctors, he still remained unmoved, but when he saw the constancy and heard the dying words of the martyrs, his heart melted, the tears flowed from his eyes, the mist of prejudice was dispelled, and within a few months afterwards he sealed the same truth with his own blood at the stake.

There is reason to think also that some of the Spanish

ecclesiastics were brought off from popery by their conferences with the English sufferers, and witnessing the holy fortitude with which they passed through the flames into everlasting life. It is certain that a number of persons were burnt alive at Seville by the Inquisition, between the years 1550 and 1560, for having embraced the Protestant religion; and a Spanish historian of those times gives this remarkable account of the defection which he bitterly laments. "Formerly," says he, "the prisoners who were brought out of the Inquisition to be burnt, were mean people, and of a bad race, (meaning Moors and Jews.) But in these latter days we have seen its prisons, scaffolds, and stakes, filled with illustrious persons of noble families, and others who as to all outward appearances, had great advantages over their neighbours, both in learning and piety. Now the cause of this was, that our Catholic princes out of the great affection which they had for Germany, England, and other countries, sent thither many learned men and preachers, hoping by their eloquence to have converted those that were in error; but such was their misfortune, that instead of reaping fruit by that diligence, the preachers who were thus commissioned to give light to others, returned home blind themselves*."

What effect the tragedy acted, by his means, at Oxford, had upon Cardinal Pole, may be seen in his letter to king Philip, where after mentioning the ineffectual attempts made by father Soto to bring Ridley and Latimer to a recantation, he says that the firmness of the heretics in the hour of death was not to be wondered at, since it was a manifest proof that they were reprobates, for they whom God casts away are always hardened in their impiety.

Such was the charity of this celebrated prelate, who has been eulogized by many writers, Protestant and Romish, for his great liberality. Pole is said by some of these historians, whether from ignorance or prejudice, matters not, to have made use of all his efforts first to prevent, and afterwards to stop the persecution of the Protestants. No proof of this mediating spirit has however been adduced,

* *Historia Pontifical*. See GEDDES's *Miscellaneous Tracts*, vol. iii. p. 554, 8vo. 1714.

and the whole stream of evidence runs the contrary way. The language and conduct of the cardinal completely falsify the eulogium, and fix indelibly upon him the charge of having caused those fires to be kindled which covered England during the last period of the popish rule over her, with the ashes of the most virtuous of her children.

But it ought not to create surprise that Pole should have found advocates, when such characters as Bonner and Gardiner have had their apologists. Of the former it has been said by a Catholic historian, that he acted according to the statutes*, which is a manifest untruth, for he began to persecute the Protestants with the utmost rigour, before the revival of the repealed laws; and even after their re-enactment he exceeded the powers which were vested in him by taking the execution into his own hands and inflicting cruel and illegal punishments.

The same charge justly lies against the crafty Gardiner, of whom it is said upon the authority of the jesuit Robert Parsons, that “no one great man in that government was further off from blood and bloodiness or from cruelty and revenge, and that he was known to be a most tender-hearted and mild man in that behalf: insomuch that it was sometimes, and by some great personages, objected to him for no small fault, to be ever full of compassion in the office and charge that he bare; yea to him especially it was imputed that none of the greatest and most known Protestants in queen Mary’s reign were ever called to account, or put to trouble for religion†.”

Upon this testimony of an apostate and traitor, who endeavoured all that in him lay to make his native country a province of Spain, we are required to believe, contrary to the evidence of Gardiner’s contemporaries, that this intriguing and versatile churchman was a man of compassion and adverse to persecution. Yet it is a known fact, and the historian who has quoted Parsons as a voucher for Gardiner’s amiable character, could not but know it, that with this ecclesiastic, and with him alone, originated the six

* Dodd’s Church History.

† Parsons’s Answer to Sir Francis Hastings, as quoted by Lingard in his recent History of England, Vol. vii. p. 252. 8vo. 1824.

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bloody articles in the reign of Henry VIII. by virtue of which several excellent persons, laity as well as clergy, were put to death. That the butchery of the two Protestant prelates Ridley and Latimer, to say nothing of Cranmer, was the joint deed of Gardiner and Pole there can be no question, for all the commissioners, first and last, employed in that infamous business, were the absolute creatures of the former; and as to the cardinal, stronger proof need not be required of his co-operation in the persecution than the language contained in his own letters, where he positively justifies the punishment of heretics in extreme cases.

But if neither Gardiner nor Pole are to have the blame of these sanguinary proceedings, upon whom must the opprobrium be fixed? The answer to this is obvious; for no single person, nor yet the whole council combined, had power enough to put the engine of persecution in motion without the concurrence and direction of these two great statesmen, of whom one was chancellor and the other legate. If therefore the iniquity is to be divided, it is plain that no small portion must fall to the share of the two leading men in the government, and these were unquestionably the cardinal and the bishop of Winchester. But another palliative for the cruelties that blackened this reign is, it seems to be found in the "intolerance of the age, when to punish the professors of erroneous doctrine was maintained as a duty no less by those who rejected than by those who asserted the papal authority*." In granting that the rights of conscience were not then properly understood, nor the principle of religious liberty respected, we are warranted in demanding from whence did the corruption spring, and with whom did the maxim of punishing men for their opinions originate? Some of the reformers it must be allowed exercised power, when they gained it, in a very arbitrary manner; but in what school did they learn the lesson, and whose example did they follow in the practice? When they separated from the church of Rome they could not altogether divest themselves of the narrow sentiments which they had therein imbibed or relinquish practices to which they had been so long accustomed. For above six

* Lingard, *ut supra*.

centuries had the church of Rome acted upon the assumption that to cut off heretics from social communion and even to punish them with death, when they were incorrigible, was a privilege exclusively belonging to the pope, for the preservation of unity and obedience. The reformers, though they did not go so far as their adversaries, yet thought with them, that the civil magistrate had a right, and was bound, to punish the fautors of tenets that affected the fundamental doctrines of religion.

In this persuasion they thought themselves supported by the peculiar circumstances and constitution of the Hebrew theocracy, forgetting or not knowing that the polity to which they looked for rules and examples in all cases had ceased for ever as a legal establishment, and given place to another institution of universal extent and perpetual duration. There was, however, this material difference between the principle of the Reformers and that of the Romanists, for the one gave the power of punishing the maintainers of pestiferous notions to the magistrate alone, while the others reserved it exclusively as the right of the pope, and those delegated by him, making the civil officer nothing better than an executioner. With the one, public peace and the preservation of religion were the sole object in granting to the magistrate the exercise of judicial authority over opinions; but their predecessors reduced every thing into a state of subserviency to the will of our sovereign lord the pope, as the living and infallible head of the church. Thus throughout the whole of the proceedings against the three English prelates, the papal jurisdiction was made the paramount point, and every appeal to the scripture, or even to the fathers, was treated with contemptuous indifference by the dominant party; with whom nothing short of implicit submission to the articles prescribed by the pope's delegates, would be received or heard as the alternative between absolution and condemnation.

Upon the church of Rome, therefore, the stigma still remains of having made persecution an article of religion, in asserting an absolute dominion over conscience, and in exercising the right of putting men to death merely for their opinions. Though the change of times has abridged

the power of the pope, it has not as yet produced a public disavowal of the tyrannical principle, which for ages kept the greater part of Christendom in bondage and to support which myriads of human beings have perished by fire and sword.

That the same spirit of intolerant bigotry still continues to be the characteristic of this communion needs no proof, for every observer may see that while all other christian societies and churches are united in enlarging the circle of charity by diffusing the advantages of religious knowledge among the poor and ignorant, that of Rome endeavours, as much as possible, to keep all her members in a state of mental servitude.

That the Romanists should labour to wipe out the stains which have made popery and persecution synonymous terms, is not to be discommended ; but that for the purpose of upholding their own communion and of asserting its purity, they should pervert facts and calumniate the characters of those who chose rather to suffer death than to acknowledge the papal authority, cannot but excite the indignation of every candid mind. Yet in this free country, where toleration is so widely extended, we have seen the verity of our historic records called in question, and the best of men vilified by the bigoted advocates of spiritual despotism. One of these champions of the papacy flatly denies the reality of the Gunpowder Treason, which all the conspirators and father Garnet among the rest openly confessed*. Another writer of the same church, and he too an ecclesiastic, has taken our national history in hand, manifestly for the purpose of whitewashing popery and of blackening the reformation. The undertaking is bold, and the execution displays considerable address : but how impartially the author has acted will appear from his account of Latimer, who he says “ was called from his retirement and appointed to preach at St. Paul’s Cross. The character of the man, the boldness of his invectives, his quaint but animated eloquence, were observed to make a deep impression on the minds of his hearers : and a pulpit was erected for him in the king’s

* See Milner’s History of Winchester.

privy garden, where the young Edward, attended by his court, listened to sermons of an hour's duration, and admired what he could not understand, the controversial superiority of the preacher*."

Again we are told that "as preacher to the infant monarch, Latimer lashed with *apparent* indifference the vices of all classes of men; inveighed with intrepidity against the abuses which already disfigured the new church; and painted in the most hideous or most ludicrous colours the practices of the ancient worship. His eloquence was bold, and vehement, but poured forth in coarse and sarcastic language, and seasoned with quaint conceits, low jests and buffoonery. Such however, as it was, it gratified the taste of his hearers: and the very boys in the streets as he proceeded to preach, would follow at his heels exclaiming "Have at them, father Latimer, have at them." But it was his misfortune, as it was that of Ridley, to abandon, on some occasions, theological for political subjects. During the reign of Edward, he treated in the pulpit, the delicate question of the succession: and pronounced it better that God should take away the ladies Mary and Elizabeth, than that by marrying foreign princes, they should endanger the existence of the reformed church. The *same zeal probably* urged him to similar imprudence in the beginning of Mary's reign, when he was imprisoned by order of the council, on a charge of sedition†."

With regard to what is said in the first of these passages, it is not true that the pulpit in the privy garden at Westminster was erected solely for Latimer, for other divines preached there in turn. Neither is it true that Edward listened to controversial subjects which he could not understand, for Latimer meddled the least with polemical points of all the preachers of that day. His sermons were wholly levelled at the prevailing corruptions, and the historian himself has elsewhere acknowledged that the manners of the English nobility and gentry were of a description that fully called for such a honest monitor, who spared neither high nor low, but laid open the depravity of all

* Lingard's History of England, vol. vii. 8vo. p. 33.

† Ibid., p. 270, 271.

ranks, not merely with apparent but apostolic zeal and sincerity.

The wit of Latimer is admitted, and he undoubtedly introduced it pretty freely into the pulpit, but not in the form of low jest or buffoonery, regard being had at least to the taste of the age. Every story told by him had a point of instruction, and therefore could not be considered as a mere stroke of humour. His anecdotes were not only admirably suited to the subject, but were well calculated to make an impression upon minds little accustomed to formal reasoning, or to an examination of the scriptures, with which indeed few at that time were acquainted. The preaching of Latimer was entirely of a practical nature, and few, if any, have exceeded him in dissecting the human heart and laying open its secret springs of evil. This he did with such plainness, pungency, and pathos, that none but those who were lifted up with pride or sunk in depravity ever departed from his sermons without a humbling sense of their infirmity. The effect of his powerful exhortation to restitution was witnessed in the repentance of John Bradford: and that excellent scholar Sir John Cheke, instead of being offended with what has been called quaint buffoonery, said to Latimer, "I have an ear for other divines, but I have a heart for you." But it is alleged that this excellent man on some occasions abandoned theology for politics, whence it is inferred that something of the same sort must have occurred at the beginning of the reign of Mary. To support this charitable surmise, the reader is told that Latimer was sent to the Tower on a charge of sedition.

It is the duty of a honest historian to relate facts as they were, and to give his authorities for what he tells, more especially where character is concerned. Now the truth is that Latimer never was charged with sedition or with any thing obnoxious to the government of Mary in his preaching, for if he had, the evidence would have appeared. The minute of the council however is decisive, for there it is stated "that he appeared before the lordes and for his *sedicious demeanor* was committed to the Towre." It is evident therefore the old bishop was sent to the Tower for the freedom of his language before the council, and not for

his conduct elsewhere. Between *sedition* and *seditious demeanour*, there is a wide difference, the one being a positive crime against the state, the other irreverent behaviour to particular authorities. Had Latimer been guilty of the former offence, his enemies, particularly Gardiner, who had been laying snares to entrap him all his life, would not fail to have taken advantage of it in prosecuting him upon so serious a charge, instead of proceeding against him for heresy.

But after all, it seems that this celebrated preacher must have transgressed the laws in some manner or other, because he justified the attainder of the lord admiral Seymour, and expressed a hope that if either of the two princesses married a papist she might not come to the succession. On the first part enough has already been said, and he must be a hardy writer, who at this day will enter upon a vindication of Seymour's character. With regard to the latter, the language used by Latimer was merely deprecatory of an event which he, and every honest protestant, had reason to dread.

Now in fact, no man of his order was freer from a *seditious spirit* than this admirable man, as is evident from his sermons, throughout which the duty of obedience to the government is inculcated in the strongest language, and without the least limitation. He carried the principle indeed so far as to think himself bound to attend the council, when he had an opportunity of escaping, though he knew that in obeying the summons he should assuredly be transferred to prison and the stake.

The character of Latimer for singleness of heart, and for a total disregard of every thing but what he considered the obligations of conscience, was so eminently bright, that the attempt to depreciate it by covert insinuations and low reflections can only bring disgrace upon the spirit of bigotry in which they arose.

Sincerity was the predominant feature of his mind, and it shone through all his conduct, as well when he was a zealous papist, as when he became an intrepid preacher of the gospel, in the face of his enemies, who were seeking his destruction on every side. When he became a bishop his

honesty appeared in the freedom with which he treated the abuses of his order before the convocation ; and of his disinterestedness he gave two proofs ; one in submitting to deprivation and six years' imprisonment, rather than subscribe the six sanguinary articles, and the other in refusing to accept any preferment when Edward came to the throne. To crown all, how did Latimer tower above his indignant persecutors in the two conflicts at Oxford, where, though loaded with opprobrious epithets, he preserved the equanimity of his temper unmoved, nor could all the artifices of the popish advocates drag him into a disputation, the object of which, on their side, he knew to be victory and not truth ! What Mr. Addison, therefore, has said in regard to his conduct on this occasion, though just, is in a slight point incorrect. " This venerable old man," says that elegant writer, " knowing how his abilities were impaired by age, and that it was impossible for him to recollect all those reasons which had directed him in the choice of his religion, left his companions, who were in the full possession of their parts and learning, to baffle and confound their antagonists by the force of reason. As for himself he only repeated to his adversaries the articles in which he firmly believed, and in the profession of which he was determined to die."

The bishop certainly complained of his deficiency of memory, and of his incapacity to enter into a regular dispute ; but he assigned this unanswerable reason for it, that he had only the bare walls for his library, and had been kept in prison without book, or pen and ink. This, as he said, was like taking a man from the stocks, where he had lain all night, and setting him to fight with one in full strength and agility.

Now let us compare the conduct of this heroic saint with that of his implacable foe, bishop Gardiner, who pandered in every thing to the vicious propensities of his master, and though a rooted papist in reality, scrupled not to write a book against the supremacy of the pope. When, in the next reign, he lost his bishopric, which he would have retained by his compliances, if he could, he exerted his utmost endeavours to embroil the kingdom in a civil war, and took

an active, though secret part, in all the political intrigues, that had for their object the overthrow of the protestant establishment. How he deported himself, when he united in his own person the highest civil preferment with his bishopric of Winchester, our annals sufficiently shew. Latimer knew the man, and was well aware of what he had to expect from him, in the event of his ascending again to authority. He was not mistaken : Gardiner stopped not short till he brought Latimer, old and poor as he was, with his friend Ridley, to the stake ; but in less than a month afterwards the vindictive and proud prelate expired with this doleful expression, *Erravi cum Petro, at non flevi cum Petro* ! “ I have sinned with Peter, but have not wept with Peter.”

Something now remains to be said of Latimer, as a theologian, in which character his merits have certainly been considerably undervalued. Though not so extensively read as Cranmer or Ridley, he was well acquainted with the fathers and school divines, while in scriptural knowledge he evidently appears to have had few superiors in his day, for the essential purposes of practical instruction. His expositions are extremely judicious, and his discourses on the Lord's Prayer, in particular, may be pointed out as an admirable body of hortatory divinity, upon a formulary more familiar, it is to be feared, than understood.

The doctrinal sentiments of Latimer are so explicitly stated in his sermons, as well as in the first book of homilies, in the composition of which he had no small share, that it might seem unnecessary to discuss the subject. As, however, the question hath often been much agitated, whether our early reformers, and Latimer among the rest, were Calvinistically inclined in the mysterious article of the extent of man's redemption ; it may be right to give his own words, which are decisive of his belief in universal grace. Latimer taught, that as all mankind became subject to wrath by the fall of Adam ; so the sacrifice offered by Christ upon the cross was a propitiation for the sins of the whole world. He carried this persuasion so far as to say, that “ Christ shed as much blood for Judas as he did for Peter ; Peter believed it, and therefore was saved ; Judas did not

believe, and therefore he was damned ; the fault being in him only, and in nobody else." Notwithstanding this explicit declaration for the universality of Christ's atonement, a modern Calvinist of great ability has endeavoured to pervert it, by a gloss which reflects more honour upon his ingenuity than his candour. After quoting the passage respecting Judas, the late Mr. Toplady says, " Not that Christ actually died for Judas (whose death was prior to that of Christ himself), but that the Mediator's blood was as much sufficient (so infinite was its value) to have redeemed even Judas, as to have redeemed any other person, had it been shed for that purpose." Now Latimer made no such subtle distinction, he says positively, that Christ actually did die for Judas, but that Judas by rejecting that blood of atonement which was shed for him, thereby sealed his own eternal condemnation.

On the awful doctrine of the divine decrees, the opinion of Latimer was equally clear. " We need not," says he, " go about to trouble ourselves with curious questions of the predestination of God, but let us rather endeavour ourselves that we may be in Christ, for when we be in him, then are we well, and then we may be sure that we are ordained to eternal life. But you will say, how shall I know that I am in the book of life? How shall I prove myself so elected of God to everlasting life? I answer, first, we may know that we be one time in the book, and another time come out again, as appeareth by David, which was written in the book of life: but when he sinned, he at the same time was out of the book of the favour of God, until he had repented, and was sorry for his faults. So we may be in the book one time, and afterwards, when we forget God and his word, and do wickedly, we come out of the book, that is, out of Christ."

But though Latimer and Calvin differed totally in what were subsequently called the quinquarticular articles, the two reformers agreed in one point of another description, and that was the actual descent of the soul of Christ into the place of torment, for the purpose of completing our redemption, by enduring the sufferings due to our original and actual transgressions.

This fearful position, however, the English divine advanced with a more cautious reserve than Calvin, who was but too apt to dogmatize on doubtful subjects, and to be most peremptory where scripture is silent.

As a preacher, Latimer obtained an extraordinary degree of popularity, and he well deserved it, by the use which he made of his talents and influence. He spoke from the heart, and though his eloquence was of the most fervid character, it was totally free from rant and enthusiasm. He never meddled with mystical subjects, nor made use of language, unintelligible to ordinary understandings.

His eloquence was perfectly evangelical, and constantly tended to the personal improvement of his hearers; not to excite their wonder and admiration.

If he occasionally intermingled strokes of pleasantry with severe dehortation and grave arguments, it was to expose vice, and shame delinquents, without any respect of persons: and the most caustic of his discourses were those which he delivered in the presence of corrupt judges, rapacious courtiers, and negligent prelates.

To sum up his character in a few words; profession and practice, zeal and holiness, distinguished him through the whole course of his long, active, and well-tried life. For many years did his light shine with undiminished lustre, in the midst of a crooked and perverse generation, and the termination of his course was, as the setting of the sun, "full of immortality."

SERMONS.

THE FIRST

OF

MASTER HUGH LATIMER'S TWO SERMONS OF THE CARD,

Preached at Cambridge, in Advent, about the year 1529.

JOHN i. 19.

And this is the record of John, when the Jews sent Priests and Levites from Jerusalem, to ask him, Who art thou?

TU QUIS ES? Which words are as much as to say in English, "Who art thou?" These be the words of the Pharisees, which were sent by the Jews unto St. John Baptist in the wilderness, to have knowledge of him, who he was; which words they spake unto him of an evil intent, thinking that he would have taken on him to be Christ, and so they would have had him done of their good wills, because they knew that he was more carnal, and given to their laws, than Christ indeed should be, as they perceived by their old prophecies: and also, because they marvelled much of his great doctrine, preaching and baptizing, they were in doubt whether he was Christ or not: wherefore they said unto him, "Who art thou?" Then answered St. John, and confessed that he was not Christ.

Now here is to be noted, the great and prudent answer of St. John Baptist unto the Pharisees, that when they required of him who he was, he would not directly answer of himself, what he was himself, but he said he was not Christ: by the which saying he thought to put the Jews and Pharisees out of their false opinion, and belief towards him, in that they would have had him to exercise the office of Christ, and so declared farther unto them of Christ, saying, "There standeth

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one among you, whom ye know not ; he it is who coming after me, is preferred before me, whose shoes' latchet I am not worthy to unloose." By this you may perceive that St. John spake much in the laud and praise of Christ his master, professing himself to be in no wise like unto him. So likewise it shall be necessary unto all men and women of this world, not to ascribe unto themselves any goodness of themselves, but all unto our Lord God, as shall appear hereafter, when this question aforesaid, "Who art thou?" shall be moved unto them: not as the Pharisees did unto St. John, of an evil purpose, but of a good and simple mind, as may appear hereafter.

Now then, according to the preacher's mind, let every man and woman, of a good and simple mind, contrary to the Pharisees' intent, ask this question, "Who art thou?" This question must be moved to themselves, what they be of themselves, on this fashion, What art thou of thy only and natural generation between father and mother, when thou camest into this world? What substance, what virtue, what goodness art thou of by thyself? Which question if thou rehearse oftentimes unto thyself, thou shalt well perceive and understand, how thou shalt make answer unto it: which must be made on this wise; I am of myself, and by myself, coming from my natural father and mother, the child of the ire and indignation of God, and the true inheritor of hell, a lump of sin, and working nothing of myself, but all towards hell, except I have better help of another, than I have of myself.

Now we may see in what state we enter into this world, that we be of ourselves the true and just inheritors of hell, the children of the ire and indignation of Christ, working all towards hell, whereby we deserve of ourselves perpetual damnation, by the right judgment of God, and the true claim of ourselves: which unthriftly state that we be born unto is come unto us for our own deserts, and proveth well this example following.

Let it be admitted for the probation of this, that it might please the king's grace now being, to accept into his favour a mean man, of simple degree and birth, not born to any possession; whom the king's grace favoureth, not because

this person hath of himself deserved any such favours, but that the king casteth his favour unto him of his own mere motion and fancy: and because the king's grace will more declare his favour unto him, he giveth unto this said man a thousand pounds in lands, to him and to his heirs, on this condition, that he shall take upon him to be the chief captain and defender of his town of Calais, and to be true and faithful to him in the custody of the same, against the Frenchmen specially, above all other enemies*.

This man taketh on him this charge, promising his fidelity thereunto. It chanceth in process of time, that by the singular acquaintance and frequent familiarity of this Captain with the Frenchmen, the Frenchmen give unto the said captain of Calais a great sum of money, so that he will be content and agreeable, that they may enter into the said town of Calais by force of arms, and so thereby possess the same unto the crown of France; upon this agreement the Frenchmen do invade the said town of Calais, alonely by the negligence of this captain.

Now the king's grace hearing of this invasion, cometh with a great puissance to defend this his said town, and so by good policy of war overcometh the said Frenchmen, and entereth again into his town of Calais. Then he being desirous to know how these enemies of his came thither, he maketh profound search and inquiry, by whom this treason was conspired; by this search it was known and found his own captain to be the author and beginner of the betraying of it. The king, seeing the great infidelity of this person, dischargeth this man of his office, and taketh from him and his heirs this thousand pounds possessions. Think you not that the king doth use justice unto him, and all his posterity and heirs? Yes, truly: the said captain cannot deny himself, but that he had true justice, considering how unfaithfully he behaved himself to his prince, contrary to his own fidelity and promise: so likewise it was of our first father Adam. He had given unto him the spirit and science of knowledge, to work all goodness therewith; this said spirit

* Calais was in the possession of the English from 1346, when it was taken by Edward III., to 1558, when its surrender to the French broke the heart of Queen Mary.

was not given lonely unto him, but unto all his heirs and posterity. He had also delivered him the town of Calais, that is to say, Paradise in earth, the most strong and fairest town in the world, to be in his custody: he nevertheless by the instigation of these Frenchmen, that is to say, the temptation of the fiend, did obey unto their desire, and so he brake his promise and fidelity, the commandment of the everlasting king his master, in eating of the apple by him inhibited.

Now then, the king seeing this great treason in his captain, deposed him of the thousand pounds of possessions, that is to say, of everlasting life in glory, and all his heirs and posterity: for likewise as he had the spirit of science and knowledge, for him and his heirs; so in like manner when he lost the same, his heirs lost it also by him, and in him. So now, this ensample proveth, that by our father Adam we had once in him the very inheritance of everlasting joy; and by him and in him again we lost the same.

The heirs of the captain of Calais could not by any manner of claim ask of the king the right and title of their father, in the thousand pounds possessions, by reason the king might answer, and say unto them, that although their father deserved not of himself to enjoy so great possessions, yet he deserved by himself to lose them, and greater, committing so high treason, as he did, against his prince's commandments; whereby he had no wrong to lose his title, but was unworthy to have the same, and had therein true justice; let not you think that be his heirs, that if he had justice to lose his possessions, you have wrong to lose the same: In the same manner it may be answered unto all men and women now in being, that if our father Adam had true justice to be excluded from his possession of everlasting glory in paradise, let us not think the contrary that be his heirs, but that we have no wrong in losing also the same; yea, we have true justice and right. Then in what miserable state be we, that of the right and just title of our own deserts have lost the everlasting joy, and claim of ourselves to be true inheritors of hell. For he that committeth deadly sin willingly, bindeth himself to be inheritor of everlasting pain: and so did our forefather Adam willingly eat of the

apple forbidden. Wherefore he was cast out of the everlasting joy of paradise, into this corrupt world, amongst all vileness, whereby of himself he was not worthy to do any thing laudable and pleasant to God, evermore bound to corrupt affections, and beastly appetites, transformed into the uncleanest and variablest nature that was made under heaven; of whose seed and disposition all the world is lineally descended, insomuch that this evil nature is so diffused and shed from one into another, that at this day there is no man or woman living, that can of themselves wash away their abominable vileness; and so we must needs grant of ourselves to be in like displeasure unto God, as our father Adam was; by reason hereof, as I said, we be of ourselves the very children of the indignation and vengeance of God, the true inheritors of hell, and working all towards hell, which is the answer to this question, made to every man and woman by themselves, "Who art thou?"

And now, the world standing in this damnable state, cometh in the incarnation of Christ; the Father in heaven perceiving the frail nature of man, that he by himself and of himself could do nothing for himself, by his prudent wisdom sent down the second person in the Trinity, his son Jesus Christ, to declare unto man his pleasure and commandment: and so at the Father's will Christ took on him human nature, being willing to deliver man out of this miserable way, and was content to suffer cruel passion in shedding his blood for all mankind, and so left behind for our safeguard laws and ordinances, to keep us always in the right path unto everlasting life, as the evangelies, the sacraments, the commandments, and so forth: which if we do keep and observe according to our profession, we shall answer better to this question. "Who art thou?" than we did before: for before thou didst enter into the sacrament of baptism thou wert but a natural man, a natural woman; as I might say, a man, a woman. But after thou takest on thee Christ's religion, thou hast a longer name: for then thou art a Christian man, a Christian woman. Now then, seeing thou art a Christian man, what shall be the answer of this question, "Who art thou?"

The answer of this question is, when I ask it unto myself, I must say that I am a Christian man, a Christian woman, a child of everlasting joy, through the merits of the bitter passion of Christ. This is a joyful answer. Here we may see how much we be bound, and indebted unto God, that hath revived us from death to life, and saved us that were damned: which great benefit we cannot well consider, unless we do remember what we were of ourselves before we meddled with him or his laws: and the more we know our feeble nature, and set less by it, the more we shall conceive and know in our hearts what God hath done for us; and the more that we know what God hath done for us, the less we shall set by ourselves; and the more we shall love and please God, so that in no condition we shall either know ourselves or God, except we do utterly confess ourselves to be mere vileness and corruption. Well, now it is come to this point, that we be Christian men, Christian women; I pray you what doth Christ require of a Christian man, or of a Christian woman? Christ requireth nothing else of a Christian man or woman, but that he will observe his rule. For likewise as he is a good Augustine Friar that keepeth well St. Augustine's rule, so he is a good Christian man that keepeth well Christ's rule.

Now then, what is Christ's rule? Christ's rule consisteth in many things, as in the commandments, and the works of mercy and so forth. And because I cannot declare Christ's rule unto you at one time, as it ought to be done, I will apply myself according to your custom at this time of Christmas; I will as I said, declare unto you Christ's rule, but that shall be in Christ's cards*. And where you are wont to celebrate Christmas in playing at cards, I intend with God's grace to deal unto you Christ's cards, wherein you shall perceive Christ's rule. The game that we will play at shall be the triumph,

* Dr. Fuller, in his "History of the University of Cambridge," says, "I remember in my time a country minister preached at St. Mary's: his text Rom. xii. 3. 'As God hath dealt to every one the measure of faith.' In a fond imitation of Latimer's Card Sermon, he prosecuted the metaphor of *dealing*; that men should *play above board*; that is, avoid all dissembling; not *pocket cards*, but improve their gifts and graces; *follow suit*, wear the surplice and conform to ceremonies; all which produced nothing but laughter in the audience."

(or trump) which if it be well played at, he that dealeth shall win; the players shall likewise win, and the standers and lookers upon shall do the same; insomuch that there is no man that is willing to play at this triumph with these cards, but they shall be all winners, and no losers.

Let therefore every Christian man and woman play at these cards; that they may have and obtain the triumph; you must mark also that the triumph must apply to fetch home unto him all the other cards, whatsoever suit they be of. Now then take ye this first card, which must appear and be shewed unto you as followeth. You have heard what was spoken to men of the old law, "Thou shalt not kill; whosoever shall kill, shall be in danger of judgment, and whosoever shall say unto his neighbour Racha, that is to say, brainless, or any other like word of rebuking, shall be in danger of a council, and whosoever shall say unto his neighbour, fool, shall be in danger of hell-fire." This card was made and spoken by Christ, as appeareth in the 5th chapter of St. Matthew.

Now it must be noted, that whosoever shall play with this card, must first before they play with it, know the strength and virtue of the same; wherefore you must well note and mark terms how they be spoken, and to what purpose: let us therefore read it once or twice, that we may be the better acquainted with it.

Now behold and see, this card is divided into four parts: the first part is one of the commandments that was given unto Moses in the old law, before the coming of Christ, which commandment we of the new law be bound to observe and keep, and it is one of our commandments. The other three parts spoken by Christ, be nothing else but expositions unto the first part of this commandment: for in very effect of all these four parts be but one commandment, that is to say, "Thou shalt not kill:" yet, nevertheless, the three last parts do shew unto thee how many ways thou mayst kill thy neighbour contrary to this commandment: yet for all Christ's expositions, in the three last parts of this card, the terms be not open enough to thee that thou dost read and hear them spoken. No doubt the Jews understood well enough when he spake unto them the three last sentences: wherefore seeing that these terms were natural terms of the Jews, it shall be necessary to expound

them, and compare them unto some like terms of our natural speech, that we in like manner may understand Christ as well as the Jews did. We will begin first with the first part of this card, and then after with the other three parts; you must therefore understand that the Jews and the Pharisees of the old law, to whom this first part, this commandment, "Thou shalt not kill," was spoken, thought it sufficient and enough for their discharge not to kill with any manner of material weapon, as sword, dagger, or with any such weapon, and they thought it no great fault whatsoever they said or did by their neighbours so that they did not harm or meddle with their corporal bodies, which was a false opinion in them, as prove well the three last other sentences following the first part of this card.

Now as touching the three other sentences, you must note or take heed what difference there is between these three manner of offences: to be angry with your neighbour: to call your neighbour brainless, or any such word of disdain: or to call your neighbour fool. Whether these three manner of offences be of themselves more grievous one than the other, it is to be opened unto you. Truly, as they be of themselves divers offences, so they kill diversely one more than the other, as you shall perceive by the first of these three, and so forth: a man which conceiveth against his neighbour or brother, ire, or wrath in his mind, by some manner of occasion given unto him, although he be angry in his mind against his said neighbour, he will, peradventure, express his ire by no manner of sign, either in word or deed: yet nevertheless he offendeth against God, and breaketh this commandment in killing his own soul, and is therefore in danger of judgment.

Now to the second part of these three; that man that is moved with ire against his neighbour, and in his ire calleth his neighbour brainless, or some other like word of displeasure, as a man might say in a fury, "I shall handle thee well enough," which words and countenances do more represent and declare ire to be in this man, than in him that was but angry, and spake no manner of word, nor shewed any countenance to declare his ire: wherefore as he that so declareth his ire either by word or countenance, offendeth more against God, so he both killeth his own soul, and doth what in him is to kill his neighbour's soul in moving him unto ire,

wherein he is faulty himself, and so this man is in danger of a council.

Now to the third offence, and last of these three ; that man that calleth his neighbour fool, doth more declare his angry mind toward him, than he that calleth his neighbour but brainless, or any such words moving ire : for to call a man fool, that word representeth more envy in a man, than brainless doth. Wherefore he doth most offend, because he doth most earnestly with such words express his ire, and so he is in danger of hell-fire : wherefore you may understand now these three parts of this card to be three offences, and that one is more grievous to God than the other, and that one killeth more the soul of man than the other.

Now, peradventure, there be some that will marvel that Christ did not declare his commandment by some greater faults of ire, than by these which seem but small faults, as to be angry and speak nothing of it, to declare it, and to call a man brainless, and to call his neighbour fool ; truly these be the smallest, and the least faults that belongeth to ire, or to killing in ire. Therefore beware how you offend in any kind of ire : seeing that the smallest be damnable to offend in, see that you offend not in the greatest. For Christ thought, if he might bring you from the smallest manner of faults, and give you warning to avoid the least, he reckoned you would not offend in the greatest and worst, as to call your neighbour thief, whore-son, whore, drab, and so forth, into more blasphemous names, which offences must needs have punishment in hell, as appeareth by these three terms, judgment, council, and hell-fire ; these three terms do signify nothing else but three divers punishments in hell, according to the offences : judgment is less in degree than council, therefore it signifieth a lesser pain in hell, and it is ordained for him that is angry in his mind with his neighbour, and doth express his malice neither by word nor countenance : council is a less degree in hell than hell-fire, and is a greater degree in hell than judgment ; and it is ordained for him that calleth his neighbour brainless, or any such word that declareth his ire and malice : wherefore it is more pain than judgment. Hell-fire is more pain in hell than council or judgment, and it is ordained for him that calleth his

neighbour fool; he declareth more his malice, in that it is an earnest word of ire. Wherefore hell-fire is appointed for it, that is, the most pain of the three punishments.

Now you have heard that to these divers offences of ire and killing, be appointed punishments according to their degrees: for look as the offence is, so shall the pain be: if the offence be great, the punishment shall be accordingly; if it be less, there shall be less pain for it. I would not now that you should think because that here are but three degrees of punishment spoken of, that there be no more in hell: no doubt Christ spake of no more here but of these three degrees of punishments, thinking they were sufficient enough for example, whereby we might understand that there be as divers and many pains as there be offences; and so by these three offences, and these three punishments, all other offences and punishments may be compared with each other: yet I would satisfy your minds farther in these three terms of judgment, council, and hell-fire. Where you might say, what was the cause that Christ declared more the pains of hell by these terms, than by any other terms? I told you before he knew well to whom he spake them; these terms were natural, and known well among the Jews and the Pharisees. Wherefore Christ taught them with their own terms, to the intent they might understand the better his doctrine: and these terms may be likened unto three terms which we have common and usual amongst us, that is to say, the sessions of inquirance, or inquest; the sessions of deliverance and the execution day: sessions of inquirance is like unto judgment; for when sessions of inquiry is, then the judges cause twelve men to give verdict of the felon's crime, whereby he shall be judged to be indicted: sessions of deliverance is much like council; for at sessions of deliverance, the judges go among themselves to counsel, to determine sentence against the felon. Execution day is to be compared unto hell-fire; for the *Jews* had amongst themselves a place of execution, named hell-fire; and surely when a man goeth to his death, it is the greatest pain in this world: wherefore you may see that there are degrees in these our terms, as there be in those terms. These evil-disposed affections and sensualities in us are always contrary to the rule

of our salvation. What shall we do now or imagine to thrust down these Turks, and to subdue them? It is a great ignominy and shame for a Christian man to be bound and subject unto a Turk: nay, it shall not be so, we will first cast a trump in their way, and play with them at cards who shall have the better, let us play therefore on this fashion with this card. Whensoever it shall happen these foul passions and Turks to rise in our stomachs against our brother, or neighbour, either for unkind words, injuries, or wrongs, which they have done unto us, contrary unto our mind, straightways let us call unto our remembrance, and speak this question unto ourselves, "Who art thou?" The answer is, I am a Christian man. Then farther we must say to ourselves, "What requireth Christ of a Christian man?" Now turn up your trump, your heart (hearts is trump, as I said before) and cast your trump, your heart, on this card, and upon this card you shall learn what Christ requireth of a Christian man, not to be angry, nor moved to ire against his neighbour, in mind, countenance, nor otherways, by word or deed. Then take up this card with your heart, and lay them together: that done, you have won the game of the Turk, whereby you have defaced and overcome by true and lawful play; but, alas, for pity, the Rhodes are won and overcome by these false Turks, the strong castle faith is decayed, so that I fear it is almost impossible to win it again.

The great occasion of the loss of this Rhodes is by reason that Christian men do so daily kill their own nation, that the very true number of Christianity is decayed: which murder and killing one of another, is increased especially two ways, to the utter undoing of Christendom, that is to say, by ensample and silence. By ensample as thus: when the father, the mother, the lord, the lady, the master, the dame, be themselves overcome with these Turks, they be continual swearers, adulterers, disposers to malice, never in patience, and so forsooth in all other vices; think you not when the father, the mother, the master, the dame, be disposed unto vice or impatience, but that their children and servants shall incline and be disposed to the same. No doubt, as the child shall take disposition natural of his father and mother, so shall the servants apply unto the vices of their masters and dames; if the heads be false in their

faculties and crafts, it is no marvel if the children, servants, and apprentices do joy therein. This is a great and shameful manner of killing Christian men, that the fathers, the mothers, the masters, and the dames, shall not alonely kill themselves; but all theirs, and all that belongeth unto them, and so this way is a great number of Christian lineage murdered and spoiled. The second manner of killing is silence. By silence also is a great number of Christian men slain, which is on this fashion: although that the father and mother, master and dame, of themselves be well disposed to live according to the law of God, yet they may kill their children and servants in suffering them to do evil before their own faces, and do not use due correction according unto their offences; the master seeth his servant or apprentice take more of his neighbour than the king's laws, or the order of his faculty doth admit him; or he suffered him to take more of his neighbour than he himself would be content to pay if he were in like condition: thus doing, I say, such men kill wittingly their children and servants, and shall go to hell for so doing; but also their fathers and mothers, masters and dames, shall bear them company for so suffering. Wherefore I exhort all true Christian men and women to give good example unto your children and servants, and suffer not them by silence to offend: every man must be in his own house, according to St. Augustine's mind, a bishop, not alonely giving good example, but teach according to it, rebuke and punish vice, not suffering your children and servants to forget the laws of God: you ought to see them have their belief, to know the commandments of God, to keep their holy days, not to lose their time in idleness, if they do so, you shall all suffer pain for it, if God be true of his saying, as there is no doubt thereof: and so you may perceive that there be many one that break this card, "Thou shalt not kill," and playeth therewith oftentimes at the blind trump, whereby they be no winners, but great losers; but who be they now-a-days that can clear themselves of these manifest murders used to their children and servants? I think not the contrary, but that many have these two ways slain their own children unto their damnation, were not the great mercy of God ready to help them when they repent thereof.

Wherefore considering that we be so prone and ready to continue in sin, let us cast down ourselves with Mary Magdalen, and the more we bow down with her towards Christ's feet, the more we shall be afraid to rise again in sin, and the more we know and submit ourselves, the more we shall be forgiven, and the less we know and submit ourselves, the less we shall be forgiven, as appeareth by this example following.

Christ when he was in the world amongst the Jews and Pharisees, there was a great Pharisee whose name was Simon: this Pharisee desired Christ on a time to dine with him, thinking in himself that he was able and worthy to give Christ a dinner: Christ refused not his dinner, but came unto him. In time of their dinner it chanced there came into the house a great and a common sinner, named Mary Magdalen. As soon as she perceived Christ, she cast herself down, and called unto her remembrance what she was of herself, and how greatly she had offended God, whereby she conceived in Christ great love, and so came near unto him, and washed his feet with her tears, and shed upon his head precious ointment, thinking that by him she should be delivered from her sins; this great and proud Pharisee seeing that Christ did accept her oblation in the best part, had great indignation against this woman, and said to himself, If this man Christ were a holy prophet, as he is taken for, he would not suffer this sinner to come so nigh him. Christ understanding the naughty mind of this Pharisee, said to him: Simon, I have somewhat to say unto thee; Say what thou pleasest, quoth the Pharisee. Then saith Christ, "I pray thee tell me this: If there be a man to whom is owing twenty pounds by one, and forty by another, this man to whom this money is owing, perceiveth these two men be not able to pay him, he forgiveth them both. Which of these two debtors ought to love this man most?" The Pharisee said, "that man ought to love him best that hath most forgiven him:" Likewise said Christ, "it is by this woman. She hath loved me most, therefore most is forgiven her, she hath known her sins most, whereby she hath most loved me; and thou hast least loved me, because thou hast least known thy sins: therefore because thou hast least

known thine offences, thou art least forgiven." So this proud Pharisee had an answer to allay his pride; and think you not, but that there be amongst us a great number of these proud Pharisees, which think themselves worthy to bid Christ to dinner, which shall perk and presume to sit by Christ in the church, and have disdain of this poor woman Magdalen, their poor neighbour, with an high, disdainous and solemn countenance, and being always desirous to climb highest in the church, reckoning their selves more worthy to sit there than another, I fear me, poor Magdalen, under the board, and in the belfry, hath more forgiven of Christ than they have; for it is like that these Pharisees do less know themselves and their offences, whereby they less love God, and so they be less forgiven.

I would to God we would follow this ensample, and be like unto Magdalen. I doubt not but we be all Magdalens in falling into sin, and in offending: but we be not again Magdalens in knowing ourselves, and in rising from sin. If we be true Magdalens, we should be as willing to forsake our sin, and rise from sin, as we were willing to commit sin, and to continue in it, and we then should know ourselves best, and make more perfect answer than ever we did, unto this question, "Who art thou?" To the which we might answer, that we be true Christian men and women: and then I say you should understand and know how you ought to play at this card, "Thou shalt not kill;" without any interruption of your deadly enemies the Turks, and so triumph at the last, by winning everlasting life in glory. *Amen.*

THE SECOND
OF
MASTER HUGH LATIMER's TWO SERMONS
OF THE CARD.

JOHN i. 19.

And this is the record of John, when the Jews sent Priests and Levites from Jerusalem, to ask him, Who art thou ?

NOW you have heard what is meant by this first card, and how you ought to play with it, I purpose again to deal unto you another card, almost of the same suit; for they be of so nigh affinity, that one cannot be well played without the other. The first card declared, "that you should not kill," which might be divers ways, as being angry with your neighbour, in mind, in countenance, in word, or deed. It declared also how you should subdue the passions of ire, and so clear evermore yourselves from them: and where this card doth kill in you these stubborn Turks of ire; this second card will, not only they should be mortified in you, but that you yourselves shall cause them to be likewise mortified in your neighbour, if that your said neighbour hath been through your occasion moved unto ire, either in countenance, word, or deed. Now therefore let us hear the tenor of this card.

"Therefore, if thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath aught against thee; leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way, first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift."

This card was spoken by Christ, as testifieth St. Matthew in his 5th chapter, against all such as do presume to come unto the church to make oblation unto God either by prayer, or any other deed of charity, not having their neighbours

reconciled. Reconciling is, as much as to say, as to restore thy neighbour unto charity, which by thy words or deeds is moved against thee : then if so be if that thou hast spoken to, or by thy neighbour, whereby he is moved to ire or wrath, thou must lay down thy oblation. Oblations be prayers, alms-deeds, or any work of charity ; these be called oblations to God. Lay down therefore thine oblation, begin to do none of these foresaid works, before thou goest unto thy neighbour, and confess thy fault unto him ; declaring thy mind, that if thou hast offended him, thou art glad and willing to make him amends, as far forth as thy words and substance will extend, requiring him not to take it at the worst. Thou art sorry in thy mind, that thou shouldest be the occasion of his offending. What manner of card is this ? will some say. Why ? What have I to do with my neighbour's or brother's malice ? as Cain said, " Have I the keeping of my brother, or shall I answer for him and for his faults ? " This were no reason : as for myself, I thank God I owe no man malice nor displeasure, if others owe me any, at their own peril be it. Let every man answer for himself. Nay, Sir, not so, as you may understand by this card ; for it saith, if thy neighbour hath any thing, any malice against thee, through thine occasion, lay even down, saith Christ, thine oblation ; pray not to me, do no good deeds for me, but go first unto thy neighbour, and bring him again unto my flock, which hath forsaken the same through thy naughty words, mocks, scorns, or disdainous countenance, and so forth ; and then come and offer thine oblation, then do thy devotion, then do thy alms-deeds, then pray, if thou wilt have me hear thee. O good Lord, this is a hard reckoning, that I must go and seek him out that is offended with me, before I pray or do any good deed. I cannot go unto him. Peradventure he is an hundred miles from me, beyond the seas, or else I cannot tell where, if he were here nigh, I would with all my heart go unto him. This is a lawful excuse before God on this fashion, that thou wouldest in thine heart be glad to reconcile thy neighbour, if he were present, and that thou thinkest in thy heart, whensoever thou shalt meet with him, to go unto him, and require him charitably to forgive thee, and so never intend to come from him until the time that you both depart one from the other true brethren in Christ.

Yet peradventure there be some in the world that be so devilish and hard-hearted, that they will not apply in any condition unto charity. For all that, do that lieth in thee by all charitable means to bring him to unity : if he will in no wise apply thereunto, thou mayest be sorrowful in thy heart, that by thine occasion that man or woman continueth in such a damnable state : this notwithstanding, if thou do the best that lieth in thee to reconcile him, according to some doctors' minds, thou art discharged towards God. Nevertheless St. Augustine doubteth in this case, why thy oblations, prayers, or good deeds shall avail thee before God, or no, until thy neighbour come again to good state, whom thou hast brought out of the way. Doth this noble doctor doubt therein ? what aileth us to be so bold, or count it but a small fault or none, to bring another man out of patience for every trifle that standeth not with our mind ? You may see what a grievous thing this is to bring another man out of patience, that peradventure you cannot bring in again with all the goods that you have : for surely after the opinion of great wise men, friendship once broken will be never well made whole again. Wherefore you shall hear what Christ saith unto such persons ; saith Christ, I came down into this world, and so took on me bitter passion for man's sake, by the merits whereof I intended to make unity and peace in mankind, to make man brother unto me, and so to expel the dominion of Satan, the devil which worketh nothing else but dissension : and yet now there be a great number of you that have professed my name, and say you be Christian men, which do rebel against my purpose and mind. I go about to make my fold ; you go about to break the same, and kill my flock. How dar'st thou, saith Christ, presume to come unto my altar, unto my church, or unto my presence, to make oblation unto me, that takest on thee to spoil my lambs ? I go about like a good shepherd to gather them together : and thou doest the contrary, ever more ready to divide and lose them. Who made thee so bold to meddle with my silly beasts, which I bought so dearly with my precious blood ? I warn thee out of my sight, come not in my presence, I refuse thee and all thy works, except thou go and bring home again my lambs which thou hast lost ; wherefore, if thou thyself intend to be one of mine, lay even down by and by thine oblation, and come

no farther toward mine altar, but go and seek them without any questions, as it becometh a true and faithful servant. A true and faithful servant, whensoever his master commandeth him to do any thing, he maketh no stops or questions, but goeth forth with a good mind : and it is not unlike, he continuing in such a good mind and will, shall well overcome all dangers and stops, whatsoever betides him in his journey, and bring to pass effectually his master's will and pleasure. On the contrary, a slothful servant, when his master commandeth him to do any thing, by and by he will ask questions, where, when, which way ? and so forth : and so he putteth every thing in doubt, that although both his errand and way be never so plain, yet by his untoward and slothful behaviour, his master's commandment is either undone quite, or else so done that it shall stand to no good purpose. Go now forth with the good servant, and ask no such questions and put no doubts, be not ashamed to do thy Master's and Lord's will and commandment. Go, as I said, unto thy neighbour that is offended by thee, and reconcile him (as is aforesaid) whom thou hast lost by thy unkind words, by thy scorns, mocks, and other disdainous words and behaviours, and be not nice to ask him of the cause why he is displeased with thee, require of him charitably to remit, and cease not till you both depart one from the other true brethren in Christ. Do not like the slothful servant thy master's message with cautels* and doubts ; come not to thy neighbour whom thou hast offended, and give him a pennyworth of ale, or a banquet, and so make him a fair countenance, thinking that by thy drink or dinner he will shew thee like countenance. I grant you may both laugh and make good cheer, and yet there may remain a bag of rusty malice, twenty years old, in thy neighbour's bosom ; when he departeth from thee with a good countenance, thou thinkest all is well then. But now I tell thee it is worse than it was, for by such cloaked charity, where thou dost offend before Christ but once, thou hast offended twice herein : for now thou goest about to give Christ a mock, if he would take it of thee : thou thinkest to blind thy master Christ's commandment. Beware and do not

* Cautele is used in a good sense by Chaucer for wariness or cautiousness, but here the word means selfish reserve.

so, for at length he will overmatch thee, and take thee tardy wheresoever thou be, and so as I said, it should be better for thee not to do his message on this fashion, for it will stand thee in no purpose. What? some will say, I am sure he loveth me well enough. He speaketh fair to my face, yet for all that thou mayest be deceived. It proveth not true love in a man to speak fair. If he love thee with his mind and heart, he loveth thee with his eyes, with his tongue, with his feet, with his hands and his body; for all these parts of a man's body be obedient to his will and mind. He loveth thee with his eyes that looketh cheerfully on thee, when thou meetest with him, and is glad to see thee prosper and do well. He loveth thee with his tongue, that speaketh well by thee behind thy back, or giveth thee good counsel. He loveth thee with his feet, that is willing to go and help thee out of trouble and business. He loveth thee with his hands, that will help thee in time of necessity, by giving some alms-deeds, or with any other occupation of the hand. He loveth thee with his body, that will labour with his body or put his body in danger to do good for thee, or to deliver thee from adversity, and so forth, with the other members of his body. And if thy neighbour will do according to these sayings, then thou mayest think that he loveth thee well, and thou in likewise oughtest to declare and open thy love unto thy neighbour in like fashion, or else you be bound one to reconcile the other, till this perfect love be ingendered amongst you. It may fortune, you will say, I am content for my neighbour what I can, saving myself harmless. I promise thee Christ will not hear this excuse: for he himself suffered harm for our sakes, and for our salvation was put to extreme death. I wish if it had pleased him, he might have saved us and never felt pain; but in suffering pains and death, he did give us ensample and teach us how we should do one for another, as he did for us all. For, as he saith himself, he that will be mine, let him deny himself, and follow me in bearing my cross and suffering my pains. Wherefore we must needs suffer pain with Christ to do our neighbour good, as well with the body and all its members, as with heart and mind.

Now I trust you know what your card meaneth, let us see how we can play with the same. Whensoever it shall happen

you to go and make your oblation unto God, ask of yourselves this question, "Who art thou?" the answer as you know is, "I am a Christian man!" Then you must again ask unto yourself, what Christ requireth of a Christian man? by and by cast down your trump, your heart, and look first of one card then of another. The first card telleth thee thou shalt not kill, thou shalt not be angry, thou shalt not be out of patience. This done, thou shalt look if there be any more cards to take up, and if thou look well, thou shalt see another card of the same suit, wherein thou shalt know that thou art bound to reconcile thy neighbour. Then cast thy trump unto them both, and gather them all three together, and do according to the virtue of thy cards, and surely thou shalt not lose. Thou shalt first kill the great Turks, and discomfit and thrust them down. Thou shalt again fetch home Christ's sheep that thou hast lost, whereby thou mayest go both patiently, and with a quiet mind unto the church, and make thy oblation unto God, and then without doubt he will hear thee. But yet Christ will not accept our oblation, (although we be in patience, and have reconciled our neighbour,) if that our oblation be made of another man's substance, but it must be our own. See therefore that thou hast gotten thy goods according to the laws of God and of thy Prince. For if thou gettest thy goods by polling and extortion, or by any other unlawful ways, then if thou offer a thousand pound of it, it will stand thee in no good effect, for it is not thine. In this point a great number of executors do offend, for when they be made rich by other men's goods, then they will take upon them to build churches, to give ornaments to God and his altar, to gild saints, and to do many good works therewith: but it shall be all in their own name, and for their own glory. Wherefore, saith Christ, "they have in his world their reward," and so their oblations be not their own, nor be they acceptable before God. Another way God will refuse thy voluntary oblation, as thus: if so be it, that thou hast gotten never so truly thy goods, according to both the laws of God and man, and hast with the same goods not relieved thy poor neighbour, when thou hast seen him hungry, thirsty, and naked, he will not take thy oblation when thou shalt offer the same, because he will say unto thee: "When I was hungry, thou gavest me no meat; when I was thirsty,

thou gavest me no drink ; and when I was naked, thou didst not clothe me :” Wherefore I will not take thy oblation, because it is none of thine. I left it thee to relieve thy poor neighbours, and thou hast not therein done according unto this my commandment, “ I will have mercy, rather than sacrifice.” Wherefore until thou dost the one as well as the other, I will not accept thine oblation. Evermore bestow the greatest part of thy goods in works of mercy, and the less part in voluntary works. Voluntary works be called all manner of offering in the church, except your offering days, and your tithes ; setting up candles, gilding, and painting, building of churches, giving of ornaments, going on pilgrimage, making of high-ways, and such others, be called voluntary works, which works be of themselves marvellous good, and convenient to be done. Necessary works, and works of mercy are called commandments ; and works of mercy consist in relieving and visiting thy poor neighbours. Now then, if men be so foolish of themselves, that they will bestow the most part of their goods in voluntary works, which they be not bound to keep, but willingly and by their devotion ; and leave the necessary works undone, which they are bound to do, they and all their voluntary works are like to go unto everlasting damnation. And I promise you, if you build an hundred churches, give as much as you can make to the gilding of saints, and honouring of the church, and if thou go as many pilgrimages as thy body can well suffer, and offer as great candles as oaks, if thou leave the works of mercy and the commandments undone, these works shall nothing avail thee. No doubt the voluntary works be good, and ought to be done ; but yet they must be so done, that by their occasion the necessary works, and the works of mercy be not decayed and forgotten : If you will build a glorious church unto God, see first yourselves to be in charity with your neighbours, and suffer not them to be offended by your works. Then when you come into your parish church, you bring with you the temple of God ; as St. Paul saith, “ you yourselves be the very holy temples of God :” And Christ saith by his Prophet ; “ In you will I rest, and intend to make my mansion and abiding place :” Again, if your list to gild and paint Christ in your churches, and honour him in vestments, see that before your eyes the poor people die not for lack of meat, drink, and

them to be bold, and to play the men, and fight manfully. For they must fight with valiant warriors, as appeareth afterward in the text. And against they come to fight he comforteth them, saying, "My brethren:" He calleth them brethren; for though he taught them before to be subject to kings and rulers, and to be obedient to their superiors, yet he teacheth them that in Christ we be all brethren, according to the saying in the same chapter, "God is no acceptor of persons. My brethren," saith he, "be ye comforted, be ye strong;" not trusting to yourselves; no, but be bold, and comforted by our Lord, and by the power of his virtue. Not by your own virtue, for it is not of power to resist such assaults as he speaks of hereafter. "Put on, or apparel you with the armour of God." Armour is an apparel to clothe a man, and maketh him seemly and comely: setteth forth his body, and maketh him strong and bold in battle. And therefore Saint Paul exhorteth generally his brethren to be armed: and as the assaults be strong, and not small, so he giveth strong armour, and not small; "Put on," saith he, "the armour of God." He speaketh generally of armour, but afterwards he speaketh particularly of the parts of armour, where he saith, be armed complete, whole, be armed on every part with the armour of God; not borrowed, nor patched, but all godly. And as armour setteth forth a man's body, so this godly armour maketh us seemly in the sight of God, and acceptable in his wars.

Be ye therefore armed at all points with the armour of God, that ye may stand strongly against the assaults of the devil. "That ye may stand," saith he. Ye must stand in this battle, and not sit, nor lie along; for he that lieth is trodden under foot of his enemy. We may not sit, that is, not rest in sin, or lie along in sluggishness of sin, but continually fight against our enemy, and under our great Captain and Sovereign Lord Jesus Christ, and in his quarrel, armed with the armour of God, that we may be strong. We cannot be strong unless we be armed of God. We have no power of ourselves to stand against the assaults of the devil. There St. Paul teacheth what our battle is, and wherefore we must be thus armed.

For, saith he, "we have not wrestling or strife against flesh and blood;" which may be understood, against certain sins,

which come of the flesh only : but let us take it as it standeth, “ against flesh and blood,” that is, against any corporal man, which is but a weak thing in comparison, and with one stroke destroyed or slain : but we have to do with strong, mighty princes and potentates, that mighty prince, that great conqueror, this world, the devil, yea a conqueror : for though our Saviour Jesus Christ conquered him and all his, by suffering his blessed passion, yet is he a conqueror in this world, and reigneth over a great multitude of his own, and maketh continual assaults against the rest, to subdue them also under his power : which, if they be armed after the manner of St. Paul’s teaching, shall stand strongly against his assaults. “ Our battle,” saith St. Paul, “ is against princes, potentates,” that is against devils. For after the common opinion, there fell from heaven of every order of angels, as of potentates. He saith also, “ against worldly rulers of these darkneses :” For, as doctors do write, the spirits that fell with Lucifer have their being in *aëre caliginoso*, the air, in darkness, and the rulers of this world, by God’s sufferance, to hurt, vex and assault them that live upon the earth. For their nature is, as they are damned, to desire to draw all mankind unto like damnation, such is their malice. And though they hang in the air, or fall in a garden or other pleasant place, yet have they continually their pain upon their backs. Against these we wrestle, and “ against spiritual wickedness in *caelestibus*, high places,” that is in the air, or we fight against spiritual wickedness in heavenly things.

Think you not that this our enemy, this prince with all his potentates, hath great and sore assaults to lay against our armour ? Yea, he is a crafty warrior, and also of great power in this world ; he hath great ordnance and artillery, he hath great pieces of ordnance, as mighty kings and emperors, to shoot against God’s people, to persecute or kill them, as Nero, the great tyrant, who slew Paul, and divers other. Yea, what great pieces hath he had of bishops of Rome, which have destroyed whole cities and countries, and have slain and burnt many ? What great guna were those ?

Yea, he hath also ordnance evil enough, they may be called *serpentes* : Some bishops in divers countries and here in England which he hath shot at, some good christian men that

they have been blown to ashes. So can this great captain the devil shoot his ordnance. He hath yet less ordnance, for he hath of all sorts to shoot at good christian men ; he hath hand-guns and bows which do much hurt, but not so much as the great ordnance. These be accusers, promoters and slanderers ; they be evil ordnance, shrewd hand-guns and bows ; they put a man to great displeasure ; oftentimes death cometh upon that shot. For these things, saith the text, “ take the armour of God.” Against the great captains of the devils, and against their artillery, their ministers, there can nothing defend us but the armour of God.

“ Take therefore this armour,” saith the text, “ that ye may resist in the evil day, and in all things stand perfectly, or be perfectly strong.” This evil day is not so called here, because any day or time is of itself evil ; for God made every day good, and all days be good : but St. Paul calleth it the *evil day*, because of the misfortune that chanceth or cometh in that day. As we have a common saying, I have had an evil day, and an evil night, because of the heaviness or evil that hath happened. So saith St. Paul, “ that ye may resist in the evil day :” That is, when your great adversary hath compassed you round about with his potentates and rulers, and with his artillery, so that you be almost overcome, then, if you have the armour of God, you shall be strong, and need not to fear his assaults.

St. Paul hath spoken of this armour of God generally, and now declareth the parts and pieces of armour, and teacheth them how to apparel every part of the body with this armour. He beginneth yet again, saying, “ Be strong, having your reins, or your loins girded about.” Some men of war use to have about their loins an apron or girdle of mail, gird fast for the safeguard of the nether part of their body. So St. Paul would we should gird our *loins*, which betokeneth lechery, or other sinfulness, with a *girdle*, which is to be taken for a restraint, or continence from such vices. In *truth*, or *truly* gird : it may not be feigned, or falsely girt, but in verity and truth. There be many bachelors, as yet men unmarried, which *seem* to be girt with the girdle of continence, and yet it is not in truth, it is but feignedly. And some religious persons make a profession of continence or chastity, and yet not in truth, their

hearts be not truly chaste. Such feigned girding of the loins, cannot make a man strong to resist the assaults of the great captain or enemy in the evil day. Yet some get them girdles with great knots, as though they would be surely girt, and as though they would break the devil's head with their knotted girdles: Nay he will not be so overcome; it is no knot of an hempen girdle that he feareth; that is no piece of harness of the armour of God, which may resist the assault in the evil day; it is but feigned gear; it must be in the heart, &c.

"And be ye apparelled or clothed," saith St. Paul, "with the *habergeon* or coat-armour of justice, that is, righteousness." Let your body be clothed in the armour of righteousness; ye may do no wrong to any man, but live in righteousness; not clothed with any false quarrel or privy grudge: Ye must live rightly in God's law, following his commandments and doctrine, clothed righteously in his armour, and not in any feigned armour, as in a friar's coat or cowl. For the assaults of the devil be crafty, to make us put our trust in such armour; he will feign himself to fly, but then we be most in jeopardy: for he can give us an after-clap when we least ween; that is, suddenly return unawares to us, and then he giveth us an after-clap that overthroweth us: this armour deceiveth us.

In like manner these men in the North Country, they make pretence as though they were armed in God's armour, gird in truth, and clothed in righteousness. I hear say they wear the cross and the wounds before and behind, and they pretend much truth to the King's Grace, and to the commonwealth, when they intend nothing less; and deceive the poor ignorant people, and bring them to fight against both the king, the church, and the commonwealth.

They arm them with the sign of the cross, and of the wounds, and go clean contrary to Him that bore the cross, and suffered those wounds. They rise with the king, and fight against the king in his ministers and officers; they rise with the church, and fight against the church, which is the congregation of faithful men; they rise for the commonwealth, and fight against it, and go about to make the commons each to kill other, and to destroy the commonwealth. Lo, what false pretence can the devil send amongst us! It is one of his most crafty and subtle assaults, to send his warriors forth under the

badge of God, as though they were armed in righteousness and justice.

But if we will resist strongly indeed, we must be clothed or armed with the habergeon of very justice or righteousness, in true obedience to our prince, and faithful love to our neighbours, and take no false quarrels in hand, nor any feigned armour; but in justice, "having your feet shod for the preparation of the gospel of peace."

Lo, what manner of battle this warrior St. Paul teacheth us, "to be shod on our feet," that we may go readily and prepare way for the gospel, yea, the gospel of peace, not of rebellion, not of insurrection; no, it teacheth obedience, humility, and quietness; it maketh peace in the conscience, and teacheth true faith in Jesus Christ, and to walk in God's laws armed with God's armour, as Paul teacheth here. Yea, if our bishops in England had been "shod for the preparation of this gospel," and had endeavoured themselves to teach and set it forth, as our most noble prince hath devised; also, if certain gentlemen, being justices, had executed his Grace's commandment, in setting forth this gospel of peace, this disturbance among the people had not happened.

But ye say, it is new learning. Now I tell you it is the old learning. Yea, ye say, it is old heresy new scoured. Now I tell you it is old truth, long rusted with canker, and now new made bright and scoured. What a rusty truth is this; *Quodcumque ligaveris*? "Whatsoever thou bindest on earth shall be bound in heaven?" &c. This is a truth spoken to the apostles, and all true preachers their successors, that with the law of God they should bind and condemn all that sinned; and whosoever did repent, they should declare him loosed and forgiven, by believing in the blood of Christ. But how hath this truth over-rusted with the pope's rust? For he, by this text, "Whatsoever thou bindeth," &c. hath taken upon him to make what laws he listed, clean contrary unto the word of God, which willeth that every man should obey the prince's law. And by this text, "Whatsoever thou loosest," he hath made all people believe, that for money he might forgive what and whom he listed. So that if any man had robbed his master, or taken any thing wrongfully, the pope would loose him, by this pardon or that

pardon, given to these friars or those friars, put in this box or that box. And as it were, by these means, a division of the spoil was made, so that it was not restored, nor the person rightly discharged; and yet most part of the spoil came to the hands of him and his ministers. What is this but a new learning; a new canker to rust and corrupt the old truth? Ye call your learning old: it may indeed be called old, for it cometh of that serpent which did pervert God's commandment and beguiled Eve; so it is an old custom to pervert God's word, and to rust it, and corrupt it.

We be a great many that profess to be true ministers of the gospel, but at the trial, I think it will come to pass as it did with Gideon, a duke, which God raised up to deliver the children of Israel from the Midianites, in whose hands they were fallen, because they had broken God's commandment, and displeased him: yet at the length he had compassion on them, and raised up Gideon to deliver them. And when they heard that they had a captain or a duke that should deliver them, they assembled a great number, about thirty thousand: but when it came to pass that they should fight, they departed all save five hundred. So, I fear me that at the trial, they will be found but a few ministers of the true gospel of peace, and armed in the true armour of God.

It followeth, "And in all things take the shield or buckler of faith." The buckler is a thing wherewith a man most chiefly defendeth himself: and that must be perfect faith in Jesus Christ, in our captain, and in his word. It must also be a true faith, it is else no part of the armour of God: it may not be feigned, but a sure buckler, which may stop or quench the violence of the flaming darts of the most wicked.

"Take also the helmet of health," or true health in Jesus Christ, for there is no health in any other man; not the health of a grey friar's coat, or the health of this pardon, or that pardon; that were a false helmet, and should not defend from the violence of the wicked.

"And the sword of the spirit, which is the word of God." Lo, St. Paul teacheth you battle, to take in your left hand the shield of faith, to defend and bear off the darts of the devil; and in the other hand, a sword to strike with against the enemy; for a good man of war may not stand against,

and defend only, but also strike against his enemy. So St. Paul giveth us here a sword, "The word of God." For this sword is it that beateth this great captain our enemy. Christ himself gave us an ensample to fight with this sword, for he answered the devil with the scripture, and said, "It is written." With this sword he drave away the devil: and so let us break his head with this sword, the true word of God, and not with any word of the bishop of Rome's making, not with his old learning, nor his new learning, but with the pure word of God. The time passeth, I will therefore make an end.

Let us fight manfully and not cease; for no man is crowned or rewarded but in the end. We must therefore fight continually, and with this sword, and thus armed, and we shall receive the reward of victory. And thus the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with all your spirits. *Amen.*

THE
S E R M O N

THAT THE REVEREND FATHER IN CHRIST,
MASTER HUGH LATIMER,

Bishop of Worcester,

Made to the Clergy, in the Convocation, before the Parliament began, the
ninth day of June, the twenty-eighth year of the reign of
our Sovereign Lord King Henry VIII.

Translated out of Latin into English, to the intent that things well said
to a few, may be understood of many, and do good to all them that desire
to understand the truth.

Filii hujus seculi, &c.—Luc. xvi.

BRETHREN, ye be come together this day, as far as I
perceive, to hear of great and weighty matters. Ye be come
together to entreat of things that most appertain to the com-
monwealth. This being thus, ye look, I am assured, to hear
of me, which am commanded to make as a preface, this exhor-
tation, (albeit I am unlearned and unworthy) such things as
shall be much meet for this your assembly. I therefore,
not only very desirous to obey the commandment of our pri-
mate, but also right greatly coveting to serve and satisfy all
your expectation; lo, briefly, and as plain as I can, will speak of
matters both worthy to be heard in your congregation, and also
of such as best shall become mine office in this place. That I
may do this the more commodiously, I have taken that
notable sentence, in which our Lord was not afraid to pronounce,
“the children of this world to be much more prudent and
politic, than the children of light in their generation.” Nei-
ther will I be afraid, trusting that he will aid and guide me
to use this sentence, as a good ground and foundation of all
such things, as hereafter I shall speak of.

Now, I suppose that you see right well, being men of such learning, for what purpose the Lord said this, and that ye have no need to be holpen with any part of my labour in this thing. But yet, if ye will pardon me, I will wade somewhat deeper in this matter, and as nigh as I can, fetch it from the first original beginning. For undoubtedly, ye may much marvel at this saying, if ye well ponder both what is said, and who saith it. Define me first these three things, what prudence is, what the world, what light, and who be the children of the world; who of the light: see what they signify in scripture. I marvel if by and by ye all agree, that the children of the world should be wiser than the children of the light. To come somewhat nigher the matter, thus the Lord beginneth:

There was a certain rich man that had a steward; which was accused unto him that he had dissipated and wasted his goods. This rich man called his steward, and said, What is this that I hear of thee? Come, make me an account of thy stewardship, thou mayst no longer bear this office.

BRETHREN, because these words are so spoken in parable, and are so wrapped in wrinkles, that yet they seem to have a face and similitude of a thing done indeed, and like an history, I think it much profitable to tarry somewhat in them. And though we may perchance find in our hearts to believe all that is there spoken to be true; yet I doubt whether we may abide it, that these words of Christ do pertain unto us, and admonish us of our duty, which do and live after such sort, as though Christ when he spake any thing, had, as the time served him, served his turn, and not regarded the time that came after him, neither provided for us, or any matters of ours; as some of the philosophers thought, which said, that God walked up and down in heaven, and thinketh never a deal of our affairs. But, my good brethren, err not you so; stick not you to such your imaginations. For if ye inwardly behold these words, if ye diligently roll them in your minds, and after explicate and open them, ye shall see our time much touched in these mysteries. Ye shall perceive that God by this example shaketh us by the noses and pulleth us by the ears. Ye shall perceive very plain, that God setteth before our eyes in this similitude,

what we ought most to flee, and what we ought soonest to follow. For Luke saith, "the Lord spake these words to his disciples." Wherefore let it be out of all doubt, that he spake them to us, which even as we will be counted the successors and vicars of Christ's disciples, so we be, if we be good dispensers, and do our duty. He said these things partly to us, which spake them partly of himself. For he is that rich man, which not only had, but hath, and shall have, evermore, I say not one, but many stewards, even to the end of the world.

He is man, seeing that he is God and man. He is rich not only in mercy but in all kind of riches: for it is he that giveth to us all things abundantly. It is he of whose hand we received both our lives, and other things necessary for the conservation of the same. What man hath any thing, I pray you, but he hath received it of his plentifulness? To be short, it is he that "openeth his hand, and filleth all beasts with his blessing," and not only giveth unto us in most ample wise his benediction. Neither his treasure can be spent, how much soever he layeth out, how much soever we take of him, his treasure tarrieth still, ever taken, never spent.

He is also the good man of the house; the church is his household, which ought with all diligence to be fed with his word, and his sacraments. These be his goods most precious, the dispensation and administration whereof, he would bishops and curates should have. Which thing St. Paul affirmeth, saying, "Let men esteem us as the ministers of Christ, and dispensers of God's mysteries." But, I pray you, what is to be looked for in a dispenser? This surely, "that he be found faithful," and that he truly dispense, and lay out the goods of the Lord; that he give meat in time, give it, I say, and not sell it: meat I say, and not poison. For the one doth intoxicate and slay the eater, the other feedeth and nourisheth him. Finally, let him not slack and defer the doing of his office, but let him do his duty when time is, and need requireth it. This is also to be looked for, that he be one whom God hath called, and put in office, and not one that cometh uncalled, unsent for; not one that of himself presumeth to take honour upon him. What is to be looked for? Surely, if all this that I say be required in a good minister, it is much lighter to

require them all in every one, than to find one any where that hath them all. Who is a true and faithful steward? He is true, he is faithful, that coineth no new money, but taketh it ready coined of the good man of the house; and neither changeth it, nor clippeth it, after it is taken to him to spend, but spendeth even the self-same that he had of his Lord, and spendeth it as his Lord's commandment is; neither to his own advantage uttering it, nor as the lewd servant did, hiding it in the ground. Brethren, if a faithful steward ought to do as I have said, I pray you ponder and examine this well, whether our bishops and abbots, prelates and curates, have been hitherto faithful stewards or no? Ponder, whether yet many of them be as they should be or no? Go ye to, tell me now as your conscience leadeth you, (I will let pass to speak of many other) was there not some, that despising the money of the Lord, as copper and not current, either coined new themselves, or else uttered abroad newly coined of other, some time either adulterating the word of God, or else mingling it (as taverners do, which brew and utter the evil and good both in a pot) sometime in the stead of God's word, blowing out the dreams of men? While they thus preached to the people, the redemption that cometh by Christ's death, to serve only them that died before his coming, that were in the time of the Old Testament; and that now since redemption and forgiveness of sins purchased by money, and devised by men, is of efficacy, and not redemption purchased by Christ? They have a wonderful pretty example to persuade this thing, of a certain married woman, which when her husband was in purgatory, in that fiery furnace that hath burned away so many of our pence, paid her husband's ransom, and so of duty claimed him to be set at liberty. While they thus preached to the people, that dead images (which at the first, as I think, were set up, only to represent things absent) not only ought to be covered with gold, but also ought of all faithful and Christian people, yea in this scarceness and penury of all things, to be clad with silk garments, and those also laden with precious gems and jewels. And that beside all this, they are to be lighted with wax candles, both within the church and without the church, yea and at noon days, as who should say, here no cost can be too great; whereas in the mean time, we see Christ's faithful and lively

images, bought with no less price than with his most precious blood, alas, alas, to be an hungred, a thirst, a cold, and to lie in darkness, wrapped in all wretchedness, yea, to lie there until death take away their miseries. While they preached these will-works, that come but of our own devotion, although they be not so necessary as the works of mercy, and the precepts of God, yet they said and in the pulpit, that will-works were more principal, more excellent, and, plainly to utter what they mean, more acceptable to God, than works of mercy: as though now man's inventions, and fancies, could please God better than God's precepts, or strange things better than his own: while they thus preached, that more fruit, more devotion cometh of the beholding of an image, though it be but a Pater-noster while, than is gotten by reading and contemplation in scripture, though ye read and contemplate therein seven years' space. Finally, while they preached thus, souls tormented in purgatory to have most need of our help, and that they can have no aid, but of us in this world: of the which two, if the one be not false, yet at the least it is ambiguous, uncertain, doubtful, and therefore rashly, and arrogantly with such boldness affirmed in the audience of people; the other by all men's opinions, is manifestly false. I let pass to speak of much other such like counterfeit doctrine, which hath been blasted and blown out by some for the space of three hours together. Be these the Christian and divine mysteries, and not rather the dreams of men? Be these the faithful dispensers of God's mysteries, and not rather false dissipators of them? whom God never put in office, but rather the devil set them over a miserable family, over an house miserably ordered and intreated. Happy were the people, if such preached seldom.

And yet it is a wonder to see these, in their generation, to be much more prudent and politic, than the faithful ministers are in their generation; while they go about more prudently to stablish men's dreams, than these do to hold up God's commandments.

Thus it cometh to pass, that works lucrative, will-works, men's fancies, reign; and Christian works, necessary works, fruitful works, be trodden under the foot. Thus the evil is much better set out by evil men, than is the good by good men; because the evil be more wise, than be the good in their genera-

tion. These be the false stewards, whom all good and faithful men every day accuse unto the rich master of the household, not without great heaviness, that they waste his goods; whom he also one day will call to him, and say to them as he did to his steward, when he said, "What is this that I hear of thee?" Here God partly wondereth at our ingratitude and perfidy, partly chideth us for them, and being both full of wonder and ready to chide, asketh us, "What is this that I hear of you?" As though he should say unto us; "All good men in all places complain of you, accuse your avarice, your exactions, your tyranny. They have required in you a long season, and yet require, diligence and sincerity. I commanded you that with all industry and labour, ye should feed my sheep: ye earnestly feed yourselves from day to day, wallowing in delights and idleness. I commanded you to teach my commandments, and not your fancies; and that ye should seek my glory and my vantage: you teach your own traditions, and seek your own glory and profit. You preach very seldom, and when ye do preach, do nothing but cumber (or hinder) them that preach truly, as much as lieth in you; that it were much better such were not to preach at all, than so perniciously to preach. Oh what I hear of you? You, that ought to be my preachers, what other thing do you, than apply all your study hither, to bring all my preachers to envy, shame, contempt? yea, more than this, ye pull them into perils, into prisons, and as much as in you lieth, to cruel deaths. To be short, I would that Christian people should hear my doctrine, and at their convenient leisure, read it also, as many as would; your care is not, that all men may hear it, but all your care is, that no lay man do read it. Surely being afraid lest they by the reading should understand it, and understanding, learn to rebuke our slothfulness. This is your generation, this is your dispensation, this is your wisdom. In this generation, in this dispensation, you be most politic, most witty. These be the things that I hear of your demeanour. I wished to hear better report of you. Have ye thus deceived me? or have ye rather deceived yourselves? Where I had but one house, that is to say, the church, and this so dearly beloved of me, that for the love of her, I put myself forth to be slain, and to shed my blood: this church at my departure I committed unto your charge, to be fed, to be

nourished, and to be made much of. My pleasure was, ye should occupy my place; my desire was, ye should have born like love to this church, like fatherly affection, as I did: I made you my vicars, yea, in matters of most importance.

“For thus I taught openly. ‘He that should hear you, should hear me; he that should despise you, should despise me.’ (Luke x. Matt. x. vi.) I gave you also keys, not earthly keys, but heavenly. I left my goods that I have evermore most highly esteemed, that is, my word and sacraments, to be dispensed of you. These benefits I gave you, and do you give me these thanks? Can ye find in your hearts thus to abuse my goodness, my benignity, my gentleness? Have ye thus deceived me? No, no, ye have not deceived me, but yourselves. My gifts and benefits toward you, shall be to your greater damnation. Because ye have contemned the lenity, and clemency of the master of the house, ye have right well deserved to abide the rigour and severity of the judge. Come forth then, let us see an account of your stewardship. An horrible and fearful sentence: Ye may have no longer my goods in your hands. A voice to weep at, and to make men tremble.”

You see, brethren, you see, what evil the evil stewards must come to. Your labour is paid for, if ye can so take heed, that no such sentence be spoken to you; nay, we must all take heed lest these threatenings one day take place in us. But lest the length of my sermon offend you too sore, I will leave the rest of the parable, and take me to the handling of the end of it; that is, I will declare you, how the children of this world, be more witty, crafty, and subtle, than are the children of the light in their generation. Which sentence, would God it lay in my poor tongue, to explicate with such light of words, that I might seem rather to have painted it before your eyes, than to have spoken it; and that you might rather seem to see the thing, than to hear it. But I confess plainly this thing to be far above my power. Therefore this being only left to me, I wish for that I have not, and am sorry that that is not in me which I would so gladly have, that is, power so to handle the thing that I have in hand, that all that I say may turn to the glory of God, your soul's health, and the edifying of Christ's body. Wherefore I pray you all to pray with me unto God, and that also in your petition you desire, that

these two things he vouchsafe to grant us, first, a mouth for me to speak rightly : next, ears for you, that in hearing me, ye may take profit at my hand : and that this may come to effect, you shall desire him, unto whom our master Christ bad we should pray, saying even the same prayer that he himself did institute, Pater-noster, &c. Wherein ye shall pray for our most gracious sovereign Lord the King, chief and supreme head of the Church of England, under Christ, and for the most excellent, gracious, and virtuous Lady Queen Jane*, his most lawful wife, and for all his, whether they be of the clergy or laity, whether they be of the nobility, or else other his Grace's subjects ; not forgetting those, that being departed out of this transitory life, now sleep in the sleep of peace, and rest from their labours, in quietness and in peaceable sleep, faithfully, lovingly, and patiently looking for that that they clearly shall see, when God shall be so pleased. For all these, and for grace necessary ye shall say unto God, God's prayer, Pater-noster, &c†.

* Jane Seymour, the third wife of Henry VIII., she died in childhood of Edward VI., October 14, 1537.

† It was the custom of preachers in popish times, in some part of their sermons, but generally about the beginning, "to bid the beads," or to call upon the auditory to say an Ave Maria or a Pater-noster, for a blessing upon all ranks and orders of men. From hence Henry VIII. took occasion to introduce a public acknowledgment of his being supreme head of the church of England, by giving out, in 1534, an order both for preaching and bidding of the beads.

In the following reign another injunction was issued, called, "A form of bidding the common prayers;" in which the praying upon beads is reckoned among the "works devised by men's phantasies and beside scripture." The bidding, or invitatory form of prayer before sermon was subsequently settled in the fifty-fifth canon ; and ought still to be observed by all the clergy.

THE
SECOND SERMON
IN THE AFTERNOON.

Filii hujus seculi, &c.—Luc. xvi.

CHRIST in this saying touched the sloth and sluggishness of his, and did not allow the fraud and subtlety of others; neither was glad that it was indeed as he had said, but complained rather that it should be so: as many men speak many things, not that they ought to be so, but that they are wont to be so. Nay, this grieved Christ, that the children of this world should be of more policy than the children of light; which thing was true in Christ's time; and now in our time is most true. Who is so blind but he seeth this clearly, except perchance there be any that cannot discern the children of the world from the children of light? The children of the world conceive and bring forth more prudently, and things conceived and brought forth they nourish and conserve with much more policy, than do the children of light. Which thing is as sorrowful to be said, as it seemeth absurd to be heard. When ye hear the children of the world, you understand the world as a father. For the world is father of many children, not by first creation and work, but by imitation of love. He is not only a father, but also the son of another father. If ye know once his father, by and by ye shall know his children. For he that hath the devil to his father, must needs have devilish children. The devil is not only taken for father, but also for prince of the world, that is, of worldly folk. It is either all one thing, or else not much different, to say, children of the world, and children of the devil; according to that that Christ said to the Jews, "Ye are of your father the devil:" (John viii.) whereas

undoubtedly he spake to children of this world. Now seeing the devil is both author and ruler of the darkness, in the which the children of this world walk, or, to say better, wander ; they mortally hate both the light, and also the children of light. And hereof it cometh, that the children of light never, or very seldom lack persecution in this world, unto which the children of the world, that is, of the devil, bringeth them. And there is no man but he seeth that these use much more policy in procuring the hurt and damage of the good, than those in defending themselves. Therefore, brethren, gather you the disposition and study of the children by the disposition and study of the fathers. Ye know this is a proverb much used : An evil crow, an evil egg. Then the children of this world that are known to have so evil a father, the world so evil a grandfather, the devil, cannot choose but be evil. Surely the first head of their ancestry, was the deceitful serpent the devil, a monster monstrous above all monsters. I cannot wholly express him, I wot not what to call him, but a certain thing altogether made of the hatred of God, of mistrust in God, of lyings, deceits, perjuries, discords, manslaughters, and to say at one word, a thing concrete, heaped up and made of all kind of mischief. But what mean I to go about to describe particularly the devil's nature, when no reason, no power of man's mind can comprehend it ? This alone I can say grossly, and as in a sum, of the which all we, (our hurt is the more,) have experience, the devil to be a stinking septine of all vices, a foul filthy channel of all mischiefs ; and that this world, his son, even a child meet to have such a parent, is not much unlike his father.

Then this devil being such one as can never be unlike himself : Lo of Envy his well beloved Leman* he begat the World, and after left it with Discord at nurse ; which World, after that it came to man's state, had of many concubines, many sons. He was so fecund a father, and had gotten so many children of Lady Pride, Dame Gluttony, Mistress Avarice, Lady Lechery, and of Dame Subtlety, that now hard and scant ye may find any corner, any kind of life, where many of his children be not. In courts, in cowl, in cloisters, in rochets,

* Leman, from the French *l'aimante*, a sweetheart, but commonly applied to a kept mistress, a concubine, a harlot, also a gallant.

be they never so white, yea where shall ye not find them? Howbeit, they that be secular and laymen, are not by and by children of the world, nor they children of light that are called spiritual, and of the clergy. No, no, as ye may find among the laity many children of light, so among the clergy, how much soever we arrogate these holy titles unto us, and think them only attributed to us; *Vos estis lux mundi, peculium Christi, &c.* "Ye are the light of the world, the chosen people of Christ, a kingly priesthood, an holy nation, and such other:" (Matt. v. 1 Peter, ii.) Ye shall find many children of the world, because in all places the world getteth many children. Among the lay people, the world ceaseth not to bring to pass, that as they be called worldly, so they are worldly indeed, driven headlong by worldly desires: insomuch that they may right well seem to have taken as well the manners as the name of their father. In the clergy, the world also hath learned a way to make of men spiritual, worldlings, yea, and there also to form worldly children, where with great pretence of holiness, and crafty colour of religion, they utterly desire to hide and cloak the name of the world, as though they were ashamed of their father, which do execrate and detest the world, being nevertheless their father, in words and outward signs, but in heart and work they coll (hug) and kiss him, and in all their lives declare themselves to be his babes, insomuch that in all worldly points they far pass and surmount those that they call seculars, laymen, men of the world. The child so diligently followeth the steps of his father, is never destitute of the aid of his grandfather. These be our holy men, that say they are dead to the world, when no men be more lively in worldly things than some of them be. But let them be in profession and name most farthest from the world, most alienate from it, yea so far, that they may seem to have no occupying, no kindred, no affinity, nothing to do with it: yet in their life and deeds they shew themselves no bastards, but right begotten children of the world, as that which the world long sithens had by his dear wife Dan Hypocrisy, and since hath brought them up and multiplied them to more than a good many, increased them too much, too much albeit they swear by all he-saints and she-saints too, that they know not their father, nor mother, neither the world, nor hypocrisy, as indeed they can semble and dissemble all things; which thing they might

learn wonderful well of their parents. I speak not of all religious men, but of those that the world hath fast knit at his girdle, even in the midst of their religion, that is, of many and more than many. For I fear, lest in all orders of men, the better I must say, the greater part of them be out of order, and children of the world. Many of these might seem ingrate and unkind children, that will no better acknowledge and recognise their parents in words and outward pretence, but abrenounce and cast them off, as though they hated them as dogs and serpents. Howbeit they, in this wise, are most grateful to their parents, because they be most like them, so lively representing them in countenance and conditions, that their parents seem in them to be young again, forasmuch as they ever say one thing and think another. They shew themselves to be as sober, as temperate, as Curius the Roman was, and live every day as though all their life were a shroving time. They be like their parents, I say, inasmuch as they in following them, seem and make men believe they hate them. Thus grandfather Devil, father World, and mother Hypocrisy, have brought them up. Thus good obedient sons have borne away their parents' commandments, neither these be solitary, how religious, how mocking, how monking, I would say, soever they be.

O ye will lay this to my charge, that *monachus et solitarius* signifieth all one. I grant this to be so, yet these be so solitary that they be not alone, but accompanied with great flocks of fraternities. And I marvel if there be not a great sort of bishops and prelates, that are brethren germain unto these, and as a great sort, so even as right born, and world's children by as good title as they. But because I cannot speak of all, when I say prelates, I understand bishops, abbots, priors, archdeacons, deans, and other of such sort, that are now called to this convocation, as I see, to intreat here of nothing but of such matters as both appertain to the glory of Christ, and to the wealth of the people of England. Which thing I pray God they do as earnestly as they ought to do. But it is to be feared lest as light hath many her children here, so the world hath sent some of his whelps hither : amongst the which I know there can be no concord nor unity, albeit they be in one place, in one congregation. I know there can be no agreement between these two, as long as they have minds so unlike, and so contrary affections,

judgments so utterly diverse in all points. But if the children of this world be either more in number, or more prudent than the children of light, what then availeth us to have this convocation? Had it not been better we had not been called together at all? For as the children of this world be evil, so they breed and bring forth things evil; and yet there be more of them in all places, or at the least they be more politic, than the children of light in their generation. And here I speak of the generation whereby they do ingender, and not of that whereby they are ingendered, because it should be too long to intreat, how the children of light are ingendered, and how they come in at the door, and how the children of the world be ingendered, and come in another way. Howbeit, I think all you that be here were not ingendered after one generation, neither that ye all came by your promotions after one manner: God grant that ye, ingendered worldly, do not ingender worldly: and as now I much pass not how ye were ingendered, or by what means ye were promoted to those dignities that ye now occupy, so it be honest, good and profitable, that ye in this your consultation shall do and ingender.

The end of your convocation shall shew what ye have done; the fruit that shall come of your consultation, shall shew what generation ye be of. For what have ye done hitherto, I pray you, these seven years and more? What have ye ingendered? What have ye brought forth? What fruit is come of your long and great assembly? What one thing that the people of England hath been the better of a hair? Or you yourselves, either more accepted before God, or better discharged toward the people committed unto your cure? For that the people is better learned and taught now, than they were in time past, to whether of these ought we to attribute it, to your industry, or to the providence of God, and the foreseeing of the king's grace? Ought we to thank you, or the king's highness? Whether stirred other first, you the king, that he might preach, or he you by his letters, that ye should preach oftener? Is it unknown, think you, how both ye and your curates were in a manner by violence enforced to let books to be made, not by you, but by profane and lay persons, to let them, I say, be sold abroad, and read for the instruction of the people? I am bold with you, but I speak Latin and not English, to the clergy

not to the laity ; I speak to you being present, and not behind your backs. God is my witness, I speak whatsoever is spoken of the good-will that I bear you ; God is my witness, which knoweth my heart, and compelleth me to say that I say.

Now, I pray you in God's name, what did you so great fathers, so many, so long a season, so oft assembled together ? What went you about ? What would ye have brought to pass ? Two things taken away. The one, that ye, (which I heard), burned a dead man* : The other, that ye, (which I felt), went about to burn one being alive. Him, because he did, I cannot tell how, in his testament withstand your profit ; in other points, as I have heard, a very good man : reported to be of an honest life while he lived, full of good works, good both to the clergy, and also to the laity. This other, which truly never hurt any of you, ye would have raked in the coals, because he would not subscribe to certain articles that took away the supremacy of the king. Take away these two noble acts, and there is nothing else left that ye went about, that I know, saving that I now remember, that somewhat ye attempted against Erasmus†, albeit as yet nothing is come to light. Ye have oft sat in consultation, but what have ye done ? Ye have had many things in deliberation, but what one is put forth, whereby either Christ is more glorified, or else Christ's people made more holier ? I appeal to your own consciences. How chanced this ? How came it thus ? Because there were no children of light, no children of God

* In 1532, the body of William Tracy, of Toddington, in the county of Worcester, Esquire, was taken up by the chancellor of the diocese and burnt : but in executing this barbarous act, the ecclesiastical judge exceeded his commission, and was afterwards turned out of his office. The reason of this process was, an omission in the will of the deceased, who had left out the usual form of recommending his soul to the intercession of the saints. This being observed in the probate, Archbishop Warham sent a copy of it to the convocation, where Tracy was pronounced a heretic, upon which censure the chancellor caused the body to be dug up and burnt. This is the first case alluded to by Latimer, the other is his own, when the convocation endeavoured to bring him under a charge of heresy in the same year, but by appealing to the king, he escaped, and was made bishop of Worcester.—*Collier II.* pp. 70, 74.

† The Romish clergy looked upon Erasmus with an evil eye, for they said he laid the egg which Luther hatched. In 1520, Dr. Standish, afterwards bishop of St. Asaph publicly charged Erasmus with heresy before the king ; but nothing came of the accusation. The translation of the New Testament, by this great man, gave even more offence than his Colloquies.

amongst you, which, setting the world at nought, would study to illustrate the glory of God, and thereby shew themselves children of light? I think not so, certainly I think not so. God forbid, that all you, which were gathered together under the pretence of light, should be children of the world. Then why happened this? Why I pray you? Perchance either because the children of the world were more in number, in this your congregation, as it oft happeneth, or at the least of more policy than the children of light in their generation: whereby it might very soon be brought to pass, that these were much more stronger, in gendering the evil, than these in producing the good. The children of light have policy, but it is like the policy of the serpent, and is joined with doveish simplicity. They ingender nothing but simply, faithfully, and plainly, even so doing all that they do. And therefore they may with more facility be cumbered in their ingendering, and be the more ready to take injuries. But the children of this world have worldly policy, foxly craft, lion-like cruelty, power to do hurt, more than either *aspis* or *basiliscus*, ingendering and doing all things fraudulently, deceitfully, guilefully: which as Nimrods and such sturdy and stout hunters, being full of simulation and dissimulation before the Lord, deceive the children of light, and cumber them easily. Hunters go not forth in every man's sight, but do their affairs closely, and with use of guile and deceit wax every day more craftier than other.

The children of this world be like crafty hunters, they be misnamed children of light, forasmuch as they so hate light, and so study to do the works of darkness. If they were the children of light, they would not love darkness. It is no marvel, that they go about to keep other in darkness, seeing they be in darkness, from top to toe overwhelmed with darkness, darker than is the darkness of hell. Wherefore it is well done in all orders of men, but in especial in the order of prelates, to put a difference between children of light, and children of the world, because great deceit ariseth in taking the one for the other. Great imposture cometh, when they that the common people take for the light, go about to take the sun and the light out of the world. But these be easily known, both by the diversity of minds, and also their armours. For whereas the children of light are thus minded, that they seek their adversaries' health,

wealth, and profit, with loss of their own commodities, and oftentimes with jeopardy of their life: The children of the world, contrariwise, have such stomachs, that they will sooner see them dead that doth them good, than sustain any loss of temporal things. The armour of the children of light, are first the word of God, which they ever set forth, and with all diligence put it abroad, that, as much as in them lieth, it may bring forth fruit: after this, patience and prayer, with the which in all adversities the Lord comforteth them. Other things they commit to God, unto whom they leave all revengement. The armour of the children of the world, are sometime frauds and deceits, sometime lies and money: by the first, they make their dreams, their traditions: by the second, they stablish and confirm their dreams, be they never so absurd, never so against scripture, honesty, reason. And if any man resist them, even with these weapons they procure to slay him. Thus they bought Christ's death, the very light itself, and obscured him after his death; thus they buy every day the children of light, and obscure them, and shall so do, until the world be at an end. So that it may be ever true, that Christ said; "The children of this world be wiser in their generation than the children of light."

These worldlings pull down the lively faith, and full confidence that men have in Christ, and set up another faith, another confidence, of their own making: the children of light contrary. These worldlings set little by such works as God hath prepared for our salvation, but they extol traditions and works of their own invention; the children of light contrary. The worldlings, if they spy profit, gains, lucre in any thing, be it never such a trifle, be it never so pernicious, they preach it to the people, (if they preach at any time,) and these things they defend with tooth and nail. They can scarce disallow the abuses of these, albeit they be intolerable, lest in disallowing the abuse they lose part of their profit. The children of the light contrary, put all things in their degree, best highest, next the worst, lowest. They extol things necessary, christian, and commanded of God. They pull down will-works feigned by men, and put them in their place. The abuses of all things they earnestly rebuke. But yet these things be so done on both parties, and so they both do gender, that the

children of the world shew themselves wiser than the children of light, and that frauds and deceits, lies and money, seem evermore to have the upper hand. I hold my peace, I will not say, how fat feasts and jolly banquets be jolly instruments to set forth worldly matters withal. Neither the children of the world be only wiser than the children of light, but are also some of them, among themselves, much wiser than the other in their generation. For albeit, as touching the end, the generation of them all is one; yet in this same generation, some of them have more craftily ingendered, than the other of their fellows.

For what a thing was that, that once every hundred year was brought forth in Rome of the children of this world, and with how much policy it was made, ye heard at Paul's Cross* in the beginning of the last parliament. How some brought forth canonizations, some expectations, some pluralities and unions, some tot-quotes†, and dispensations, some pardons, and these of wonderful variety, some stationaries, some jubilaries, some pocularies for drinkers, some manuaries for handlers of relicks, some pedaries for pilgrims, some oscularies for kissers‡; some of them ingendered one, some other such faitours, and every one in that he was delivered of, was excellent politic, wise; yea, so wise, that with their wisdom they had almost made all the world fools.

But yet they that begot and brought forth that our old ancient purgatory pick-purse, that that was swaged and cowed with a Franciscan's cowl§, put upon a dead man's back, to the fourth part of his sins, that that was utterly to be spoiled, and of none other, but of our most prudent Lord Pope, and of him as oft

* The pulpit at Paul's Cross was famous at the time of the reformation, and during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, being always filled by the ablest preachers from the two universities, as well as the great divines of the court. It was in the open air, near Cheapside, where the tree now stands; and adjacent was a house for the accommodation of the preachers, during their stay in town.

† *Toties quoties*, i. e., so many times, and as often: this was the title of a general dispensation.

‡ The articles of popish commerce, here enumerated, were consecrated drinking vessels, gloves, sandals and a piece of wood, bearing the representation of Christ, for the devout purchasers to kiss, whence it was called *osculatorium*.

§ It was deemed a security for the sinner to be buried in the vestment of St. Francis: but the monks took care to make the family pay a good price or, as Latimer says, wages for the favour.

as him listed : that satisfactory, that missal, that scalarly : they I say, that were the wise fathers and genitors of this purgatory, were, in my mind, the wisest of all their generation, and so far pass both the children of light, and also the rest of their company, that they both are but fools, if ye compare them with these. It was a pleasant fiction, and from the beginning so profitable to the feigners of it, that almost, I dare boldly say, there hath been no emperor, that hath gotten more by taxes and tallages, of them that were alive, than these the very and right begotten sons of the world, got by dead men's tributes and gifts. If there be some in England, that would this sweating of the world to be with no less policy kept still, than it was born and brought forth in Rome, who then can accuse Christ of lying? No, no; as it hath been ever true, so it shall be, that the children of the world be much wiser, not only in making their things, but also in conserving them. I wot not what it is, but somewhat it is I wot, that some men be so loth to see the abuse of this monster, purgatory, which abuse is more than abominable: as who should say, there is none abuse in it, or else as though there can be none in it. They may seem heartily to love the old thing, that thus earnestly endeavour them to restore his old name. They would not set an hair by the name, but for the thing. They be not so ignorant, no they be crafty, but that they know if the name come again, the thing will come after. Thereby it ariseth, that some men make their cracks, that they, maugre of all men's heads, have found purgatory. I cannot tell what is found. This, to pray for dead folks, this is not found, for it was never lost. How can that be found that was not lost? O subtle finders, that can find things (and God will) ere they be lost. For that cowlish deliverance, their scalarly losings, their papal spoliations, and other such their figments, they cannot find. No, these be so lost, as they themselves grant, that though they seek them never so diligently, yet they shall not find them, except perchance they hope to see them come in again with their names. And that then money-gathering may return again, and deceit walk about the country, and so stablish their kingdom in all kingdoms. But to what end this chiding between the children of the world, and the children of light will come, only he knoweth that once shall judge them both.

Now, to make haste and to come somewhat nigher the end; Go ye to, good brethren and fathers, for the love of God go ye to; and seeing we are here assembled, let us do something whereby we may be known to be the children of light. Let us do somewhat, lest we, which hitherto have been judged children of the world, seem even still to be so. All men call us prelates, then seeing we be in council, let us so order ourselves, that we be prelates in honour and dignity, so we may be prelates in holiness, benevolence, diligence, and sincerity. All men know that we be here gathered, and with most fervent desire, they anheale*, breathe, and gape for the fruit of our convocation; as our acts shall be, so they shall name us; so that now it lieth in us, whether we will be called children of the world, or children of light.

Wherefore, lift up your heads, brethren, and look about with your eyes, spy what things are to be reformed in the church of England. Is it so hard, is it so great a matter for you to see many abuses in the clergy, many in the laity? What is done in the Arches*? Nothing to be amended? What do they there? Do they evermore rid the people's business and matters, or cumber and ruffle them? Do they evermore correct vice, or else defend it, sometime being well corrected in other places? How many sentences be given there in time, as they ought to be? If men say truth, how many without bribes? Or if all things be well done there, what do men in bishop's consistories? Shall you oftener see the punishments assigned by the laws executed, or else money redemptions used in their stead? How think you by the ceremonies that are in England, oft-times, with no little offence of weak consciences, contemned; more oftener with superstition so defiled, and so depraved, that you may doubt whether it were better some of them to tarry still, or utterly to take them away? Have not our forefathers complained of the number of ceremonies, of the superstition, and estimation of them?

Do ye see nothing in our holidays? Of the which very few were made at the first, and they to set forth goodness, virtue, and honesty? But sithens, in some places, there is

* Anheale is an old word for anoint: it seems here used for desire.

† The Court of Arches.

neither mean nor measure in making new holidays, as who should say, this one thing is serving of God, to make this law, that no man may work. But what doth the people on these holidays? Do they give themselves to godliness, or else ungodliness? See ye nothing, brethren? If you see not, yet God seeth. God seeth all the whole holidays, to be spent miserably in drunkenness, in glossing, in strife, in envy, in dancing, dicing, idleness, and gluttony. He seeth all this, and threateneth punishment for it. He seeth it, which neither is deceived in seeing, nor deceiveth when he threateneth.

Thus men serve the devil, for God is not thus served, albeit ye say, ye serve God. No, the devil hath more service done unto him on one holiday, than on many working days. Let all these abuses be counted as nothing, who is he that is not sorry, to see in so many holidays rich and wealthy persons to flow in delicates, and men that live by their travail, poor men, to lack necessary meat and drink for their wives and their children, and that they cannot labour upon the holidays, except they will be cited, and brought before our officials? Were it not the office of good prelates, to consult upon these matters, and to seek some remedy for them? Ye shall see, my brethren, ye shall see once, what will come of this our winking.

What think ye of these images that are had more than their fellows in reputation? that are gone unto, with such labour and weariness of the body, frequented with such cost, sought out and visited with such confidence? What say ye by these images, that are so famous, so noble, so noted, being of them so many and so divers in England? Do you think that this preferring of picture to picture, image to image, is the right use, and not rather the abuse, of images? But you will say to me, Why make ye all these interrogations? And why, in these your demands, do you let and withdraw the good devotion of the people? Be not all things well done, that are done with good intent, when they be profitable to us? So surely covetousness both thinketh and speaketh. Were it not better for us, more for estimation, more meeter for men in our places, to cut away a piece of this our profit, if we will not cut away all, than to wink at such ungodliness, and so long to wink for a little lucre, specially

if it be ungodliness, and also seem unto you ungodliness? These be two things, so oft to seek mere images, and sometime to visit the relicks of saints. And yet, as in those there may be much ungodliness committed, so there may here some superstition be hid, if that sometime we chance to visit pigs' bones instead of saints' relicks, as in time past it hath chanced, I had almost said, in England. Then this is too great a blindness, a darkness too sensible, that these should be so commended in sermons of some men, and preached to be done after such manner, as though they could not be evil done; which, notwithstanding, are such, that neither God nor man commandeth them to be done. No rather, men commanded them either not to be done at all, or else more slowlier and seldomer to be done, forasmuch as our ancestors made this constitution, "We command the priests, that they oft admonish the people, and in especial women, that they make no vows but after long deliberation, consent of their husbands, and counsel of the priest*." The church of England in time past made this constitution. What saw they that made this decree? They saw the intolerable abuses of images. They saw the perils that might ensue of going on pilgrimage. They saw the superstitious difference that men made between image and image. Surely, somewhat they saw. The constitution is so made, that in manner it taketh away all such pilgrimages. For it so plucketh away the abuse of them, that it leaveth either none, or else seldom use of them. For they that restrain making vows for going of pilgrimage, restrain also pilgrimage. Seeing that for the most part it is seen that few go on pilgrimage but vow-makers, and such as by promise bind themselves to go. And when, I pray you, should a man's wife go on pilgrimage, if she went not before she had well debated the matter with herself, and obtained the consent of her husband, being a wise man, and were also counselled by a learned priest so to do? When should she go far off to these famous images? For this the common people of England think to be going on pilgrimage to go to some dead and notable image out of town, that is to say, far

* The constitution here referred to was settled by Edmond Rich, archbishop of Canterbury in a synod held in 1236.

from their house. Now if your forefathers made this constitution, and yet thereby did nothing, the abuses every day more and more increased, what is left for you to do? Brethren and Fathers, if ye purpose to do any thing, what should ye sooner do, than to take utterly away these deceitful and juggling images? Or else, if ye know any other mean to put away abuses, to shew it, if ye intend to remove abuses. Methink it should be grateful and pleasant to you to mark the earnest mind of your forefathers, and to look upon their desire where they say in their constitution, "*We command you,*" and not *we counsel* you. How have we been so long a cold, so long slack in setting forth so wholesome a precept of the church of England. where we be so hot in all things that have any gains in them, albeit they be neither commanded us, nor yet given us by counsel: as though we had liever the abuse of things should tarry still, than it taken away, lose our profit? To let pass the solemn and nocturnal bacchanals, the prescript miracles, that are done upon certain days in the west part of England, who hath not heard? I think ye have heard of St. Blesis's heart which is at Malverne*, and of St. Algar's bones, how long they deluded the people? I am afraid, to the loss of many souls. Whereby men may well conjecture, that all about in this realm, there is plenty of such juggling deceits. And yet hitherto ye have sought no remedy. But even still the miserable people are suffered to take the false miracles for the true, and to lie still asleep in all kind of superstition. God have mercy upon us!

Last of all, how think you of matrimony? Is all well here? What of baptism? Shall we evermore in ministering of it speak Latin, and not English rather, that the people may know what is said and done?

What think ye of these mass priests, and of the masses themselves? What say ye? Be all things here so without abuses, that nothing ought to be amended? Your forefathers saw somewhat, which made this constitution, against the venality, and sale of masses, that under pain of suspending, no priest

* Malverne, in Worcestershire, had a famous monastery; but who these two notable saints were, may be searched for in vain. We have no account of them in the hagiographies.

should sell his saying of tricennals* or annals. What saw they, that made this constitution? What priests saw they? What manner of masses saw they, trow ye? But at the last, what became of so good a constitution? God have mercy upon us! If there be nothing to be amended abroad, concerning the whole, let every one of us make one better: if there be neither abroad nor at home any thing to be amended, and redressed, my lords, be ye of good cheer, be merry; and at the least, because we have nothing else to do, let us reason the matter how we may be richer. Let us fall to some pleasant communication, after let us go home, even as good as we came hither, that is, right begotten children of the world, and utterly worldlings. And while we live here let us all make bone cheer. For after this life there is small pleasure, little mirth for us to hope for: if now there be nothing to be changed in our fashions. Let us say, not as St. Peter did: "Our end approacheth nigh," (1 Pet. iv) this is an heavy hearing; but let us say as the evil servant said: "It will be long ere my master come. This is pleasant. Let us beat down our fellows: Let us eat and drink with drunkards." Surely as oft as we do not take away the abuse of things, so oft we beat our fellows. As oft as we give not the people their true food, so oft we beat our fellows. As oft as we let them die in superstition, so oft we beat them. To be short, as oft as we blind lead them blind, so oft we beat, and grievously strike our fellows. When we welter in pleasures and idleness, then we eat and drink with drunkards. But God will come, God will come, he will not tarry long away. He will come upon such a day as we nothing look for him, and at such hour as we know not. He will come and cut us in pieces. He will reward us as he doth the hypocrites. He will set us where wailing shall be, my brethren; where gnashing of teeth shall be, my brethren. And let here be the end of our tragedy if ye will. These be the delicate dishes prepared for the world's well-beloved children. These be the wafers and

* Triennials or Trentals, as they were sometimes called, consisted of thirty masses said daily for a dead person during one month after his decease. But Lyndwood observes that in some copies the word is Triennialibus, and that it imports masses said every day for three years together. Annals or annuals denoted a yearly mass said for a person upon the anniversary of his death; but in some cases the mass was said for the repose of the soul of the deceased every day during one year.—JOHNSON'S *Eccles. Laws*. Vol. II.

junkets provided for worldly prelates, wailing and gnashing of teeth. Can there be any mirth, where these two courses last all the feast ? Here we laugh, there we shall weep. Our teeth make merry here, ever dashing in delicates ; there we shall be torn with teeth, and do nothing but gnash and grind our own. To what end have we now excelled other in policy ? What have we brought forth at the last ? Ye see, brethren, what sorrow, what punishment is provided for you, if ye be worldlings. If ye will not thus be vexed, be ye not the children of the world : If ye will not be the children of the world, be not stricken with the love of worldly things, lean not upon them : If ye will not die eternally, live not worldly. Come, go to, my brothers, go to, I say again, and once again go to, leave the love of your profit ; study for the glory and profit of Christ, seek in your consultations such things as pertain to Christ, and bring forth at the last somewhat that may please Christ. Feed ye tenderly with all diligence the flock of Christ. Preach truly the word of God. Love the light, walk in the light, and so be ye the children of light while ye are in this world, that ye may shine in the world that is to come bright as the sun, with the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, to whom be all honour, praise, and glory. Amen.

A

NOTABLE SERMON

OF THE REVEREND FATHER

MASTER HUGH LATIMER,

Preached in the Shronds* at Paul's Church in London, on the 18th day of
January, anno 1548.

Quæcunque scripta sunt ad nostram doctrinam scripta sunt.—Rom. xiv. 4.

“**ALL** things which are written, are written for our erudition and knowledge. All things that are written in God's book, in the Bible book, in the book of the holy scripture, are written to be our doctrine.” I told you in my first sermon†, honourable audience, that I purposed to declare unto you two things, The one, what seed should be sown in God's field, in God's plough land. And the other, who should be the sowers.

That is to say, what doctrine is to be taught in Christ's church and congregation, and what men should be the teachers and preachers of it. The first part I have told you in the three sermons past, in which I have assayed to set forth my plough, to prove what I could do. And now I shall tell you who be the ploughers; for God's word is a seed to be sown in God's field, that is, the faithful congregation, and the preacher is the sower. And it is in the gospel; “*Exivit qui seminat seminare semen suum*”; “He that soweth, the husbandman, the ploughman, went forth to sow his seed.” So that a preacher

* The shronds or crowds, as we learn from Stow, was a chapel under the choir of St Paul's church, where sermons were preached in the winter, and when the weather would not permit an audience to stand in the church-yard.

† In the edition of 1562, John Day says, “The rest of these sermons of the Plough are not yet come to hand.” But it may be observed that the three sermons on the Sower and the Householder, which are the last in this collection, may be supposed to contain the substance of them.

is resembled to a ploughman, as it is in another place; *nemo admota aratro manu, et à tergo respiciens aptus est regno Dei.* “No man that putteth his hand to the plough, and looketh back, is apt for the kingdom of God.” (Luke ix.) That is to say, let no preacher be negligent in doing his office. Albeit this is one of the places that hath been racked, as I told you of racking scriptures. And I have been one of them myself that hath racked it, I cry God mercy for it; and have been one of them that have believed and expounded it against religious persons that would forsake their order which they had professed, and would go out of their cloister: whereas indeed it toucheth not monkery, nor maketh any thing at all for any such matter; but it is directly spoken of diligent preaching of the word of God.

For preaching of the gospel is one of God's plough-works, and the preacher is one of God's ploughmen. Ye may not be offended with my similitude, in that I compare preaching to the labour and work of ploughing, and the preacher to a ploughman: Ye may not be offended with this my similitude, for I have been slandered of some persons for such things. It hath been said of me, “Oh, Latimer, nay, as for him, I will never believe him while I live, nor never trust him, for he likened our blessed lady to a saffron-bag:” where indeed I never used that similitude. But it was, as I have said unto you before now, according to that which Peter saw before in the spirit of prophecy, and said, that there should come afterward, “*men per quos via veritatis maledictis afficeretur*, there should come fellows by whom the way of truth should be evil spoken of, and slandered.” But in case I had used this similitude, it had not been to be reprov'd, but might have been without reproach. For I might have said thus; as the saffron-bag that hath been full of saffron, or hath had saffron in it, doth ever after savour and smell of the sweet saffron that it contained; so our blessed lady, which conceived and bare Christ in her womb, did ever after resemble the manners and virtues of that precious babe that she bare. And what had our blessed lady been the worse for this? Or what dishonour was this to our blessed lady? But as preachers must be wary and circumspect, that they give not any just occasion to be slandered and ill spoken of by the hearers, so must not the auditors be offended without cause.

For heaven is in the gospel likened to a mustard-seed : it is compared also to a piece of leaven ; and as Christ saith, that at the last day he will come like a thief ; and what dishonour is this to God ? Or what derogation is this to heaven ? Ye may not then, I say, be offended with my similitude, for because I liken preaching to a ploughman's labour, and a prelate to a ploughman. But now you will ask me whom I call a prelate ? A prelate is that man, whatsoever he be, that hath a flock to be taught of him ; whosoever hath any spiritual charge in the faithful congregation, and whosoever he be that hath cure of souls. And well may the preacher and the ploughman be likened together : First, for their labour of all seasons of the year ; for there is no time of the year in which the ploughman hath not some special work to do. As in my country in Leicestershire, the ploughman hath a time to set forth, and to assay his plough, and other times for other necessary works to be done. And then they also may be likened together for the diversity of works, and variety of offices that they have to do. For as the ploughman first setteth forth his plough, and then tilleth his land, and breaketh it in furrows, and sometime ridgeth it up again ; and at another time harroweth it and clotteth it, and sometime dungeth it and hedgeth it, diggeth it and weedeth it, purgeth and maketh it clean : So the prelate, the preacher, hath many diverse offices to do. He hath first a busy work to bring his parishioners to a right faith, as Paul calleth it ; and not a swerving faith, but to a faith that embraceth Christ, and trusteth to his merits ; a lively faith, a justifying faith ; a faith that maketh a man righteous, without respect of works : as ye have it very well declared and set forth in the Homily. He hath then a busy work, I say, to bring his flock to a right faith, and then to confirm them in the same faith. Now casting them down with the law, and with threatenings of God for sin ; now ridging them up again with the gospel, and with the promises of God's favour. Now weeding them, by telling them their faults, and making them forsake sin ; now clotting them, by breaking their stony hearts, and by making them supple-hearted, and making them to have hearts of flesh ; that is, soft hearts, and apt for doctrine to enter in. Now teaching to know God rightly, and to know their duty to God and their neighbours. Now exhorting them when they know their duty, that

they do it, and be diligent in it ; so that they have a continual work to do. Great is their business, and therefore great should be their hire. They have great labours, and therefore they ought to have good livings, that they may commodiously feed their flock ; for the preaching of the word of God unto the people, is called meat : scripture calleth it meat ; not strawberries *, that come but once a year, and tarry not long, but are soon gone : but it is meat, it is no dainties. The people must have meat that must be familiar and continual, and daily given unto them, to feed upon. Many make a strawberry of it, ministering it but once a year ; but such do not the office of good prelates. For Christ saith, *Quis putas est servus prudens et fidelis ! qui dat cibum in tempore.*—“ Who think you is a wise and a faithful servant ? He that giveth meat in due time.” So that he must at all times convenient preach diligently : therefore saith he, “ Who trow ye is a faithful servant ?” He speaketh it as though it were a rare thing to find such a one, and as though he should say, there be but a few of them to find in the world. And how few of them there be throughout this realm that give meat to their flock as they should do, the visitors can best tell : Too few, too few, the more is the pity, and never so few as now.

By this then it appeareth that a prelate, or any that hath cure of soul, must diligently and substantially work and labour. Therefore saith Paul to Timothy, *Qui episcopatum desiderat, hic bonum opus desiderat*, “ He that desireth to have the office of a bishop, or a prelate, that man desireth a good work.” Then if it be a good work, it is work ; ye can make but a work of it. It is God’s work, God’s plough, and that plough God would have still going. Such then as loiter and live idly, are not good prelates, or ministers. And of such as do not preach and teach, and do their duties, God saith by his prophet Jeremy, *Maledictus qui facit opus Dei fraudulenter*, “ Cursed be the man that doth the work of God fraudulently, guilefully

* This expression which Latimer made use of to designate the non-residents of his day, who only visited their cures once a year, became proverbial. A bachelor of divinity, named Oxenbridge, in a sermon preached at St. Paul’s Cross, Jan. 13, 1566, says, “ I will shew you the state and condition of this my mother Oxford ; for a piteous case it is, that now in all Oxford, there is not past five or six preachers, I except strawberry preachers.”

or deceitfully ; some books have it *negligenter*, negligently or slackly." How many such prelates, how many such bishops, Lord, for thy mercy, are there now in England ? And what shall we in this case do ; shall we company with them ? O Lord, for thy mercy ! shall we not company with them ? O Lord, whither shall we flee from them ? But " cursed be he that doth the work of God negligently or guilefully." A sore word for them that are negligent in discharging their office, or have done it fraudulently ; for that is the thing that maketh the people ill.

But true it must be that Christ saith, *Multi sunt vocati, pauci vero electi*. " Many are called, but few are chosen." (Mat. xxii.) Here have I an occasion by the way somewhat to say unto you ; yea, for the place that I alleged unto you before out of Jeremy, the forty-eighth chapter. And it was spoken of a spiritual work of God, a work that was commanded to be done, and it was of shedding blood, and of destroying the cities of Moab. For, saith he, " Cursed be he that keepeth back his sword from shedding of blood." As Saul, when he kept back the sword from shedding of blood, at what time he was sent against Amaleck, was refused of God for being disobedient to God's commandment, in that he spared Agag the king. So that, that place of the prophet was spoken of them that went to the destruction of the cities of Moab, among the which there was one called Nebo, which was much reprov'd for idolatry, superstition, pride, avarice, cruelty, tyranny, and for hardness of heart ; and for these sins was plagued of God and destroyed.

Now what shall we say of these rich citizens of London ? what shall I say of them ? Shall I call them proud men of London, malicious men of London, merciless men of London ? No, no, I may not say so ; they will be offended with me then. Yet must I speak. For is there not reigning in London as much pride, as much covetousness, as much cruelty, as much oppression, and as much superstition, as was in Nebo ? Yes, I think, and much more too. Therefore I say, repent, O London ; repent, repent. Thou hearest thy faults told thee, amend them, amend them. I think, if Nebo had had the preaching that thou hast, they would have converted. And, you rulers and officers, be wise and circumspect, look to your

charge, and see you do your duties ; and rather be glad to amend your ill living than to be angry when you are warned or told of your fault. What ado was there made in London at a certain man, because he said, (and indeed at that time on a just cause,) “ Burgesses,” quoth he, “ nay, Butterflies.” Lord what ado there was for that word ; and yet would God they were no worse than butterflies. Butterflies do but their nature ; the butterfly is not covetous, is not greedy, of other men’s goods ; is not full of envy and hatred, is not malicious, is not cruel, is not merciless. The butterfly glorieth not in her own deeds, nor preferreth the traditions of men before God’s word ; it committeth not idolatry, nor worshippeth false gods. But London cannot abide to be rebuked ; such is the nature of man. If they be pricked, they will kick ; if they be rubbed on the gall, they will wince ; but yet they will not amend their faults, they will not be ill spoken of. But how shall I speak well of them ? If you could be content to receive and follow the word of God, and favour good preachers, if you could bear to be told of your faults, if you could amend when you hear of them, if you would be glad to reform that is amiss : If I might see any such inclination in you, that you would leave to be merciless, and begin to be charitable, I would then hope well of you, I would then speak well of you. But London was never so ill as it is now. In times past, men were full of pity and compassion, but now there is no pity ; for in London their brother shall die in the streets for cold, he shall lie sick at the door between stock and stock, I cannot tell what to call it, and perish there for hunger : Was there ever more unmercifulness in Nebo ? I think not. In times past, when any rich man died in London, they were wont to help the poor scholars of the universities with exhibition. When any man died, they would bequeath great sums of money toward the relief of the poor. When I was a scholar in Cambridge myself, I heard very good report of London, and knew many that had relief of the rich men of London ; but now I can hear no such good report, and yet I inquire of it, and hearken for it ; but now charity is waxen cold, none helpeth the scholar nor yet the poor. And in those days, what did they when they helped the scholars ? Marry they maintained and gave them livings that were very papists, and professed the pope’s doctrine : and now that the

knowledge of God's word is brought to light; and many earnestly study and labour to set it forth, now almost no man helpeth to maintain them.

Oh London, London, repent, repent; for I think God is more displeased with London than ever he was with the city of Nebo. Repent therefore, repent, London, and remember that the same God liveth now that punished Nebo, even the same God, and none other; and he will punish sin as well now as he did then: and he will punish the iniquity of London, as well as he did them of Nebo. Amend therefore. And ye that be prelates, look well to your office; for right prelating is busy labouring, and not lording. Therefore preach and teach, and let your plough be doing. Ye lords, I say, that live like loiterers, look well to your office, the plough is your office and charge. If you live idle and loiter, you do not your duty, you follow not your vocation; let your plough therefore be going, and not cease, that the ground may bring forth fruit.

But now me thinketh I hear one say unto me: Wot ye what you say? Is it a work? Is it a labour? How then hath it happened, that we have had so many hundred years so many unpreaching prelates, lording loiterers, and idle ministers? Ye would have me here to make answer, and to shew the cause thereof. Nay, this land is not for me to plough, it is too stony, too thorny, too hard for me to plough. They have so many things that make for them, so many things to say for themselves, that it is not for my weak team to plough them. They have to say for themselves long customs, ceremonies and authority, placing in parliament, and many things more. And I fear me this land is not yet ripe to be ploughed: for, as the saying is, it lacketh weathering: this gear lacketh weathering, at least way it is not for me to plough. For what shall I look for among thorns, but pricking and scratching? What among stones, but stumbling? What, I had almost said among serpents, but stinging? But this much I dare say, that since lording and loitering hath come up, preaching hath come down contrary to the Apostles' times: for they preached and lorded not, and now they lord and preach not. For they that be lords will ill go to plough: it is no meet office for them; it is not seeming for their estate. Thus came up lording loiterers: thus

crept in unpreaching prelates, and so have they long continued. For how many unlearned prelates have we now at this day? And no marvel; for if the ploughmen that now be were made lords, they would clean give over ploughing; they would leave off their labour, and fall to lording outright, and let the plough stand: and then both ploughs not walking, nothing should be in the commonweal but hunger. For ever since the prelates were made lords and nobles, the plough standeth, there is no work done, the people starve. They hawk, they hunt, they card, they dice, they pastime in their prelacies with gallant gentlemen, with their dancing minions, and with their fresh companions, so that ploughing is set aside. And by the lording and loitering, preaching and ploughing is clean gone. And thus if the ploughmen of the country were as negligent in their office as prelates be, we should not long live, for lack of sustenance. And as it is necessary for to have this ploughing for the sustentation of the body, so must we have also the other for the satisfaction of the soul, or else we cannot live long ghostly. For as the body wasteth and consumeth away for lack of bodily meat, so doth the soul pine away for default of ghostly meat. But there be two kinds of enclosing, to let or hinder both these kinds of ploughing; the one is an enclosing to let or hinder the bodily ploughing, and the other to let or hinder the holiday ploughing, the church ploughing.

The bodily ploughing is taken in and enclosed through singular commodity. For what man will let go, or diminish his private commodity for a commonwealth? And who will sustain any damage for the respect of a public commodity? The other plough also no man is diligent to set forward, nor no man will hearken to it. But to hinder and let it all men's ears are open; yea, and a great many of this kind of ploughmen, which are very busy, and would seem to be very good workmen: I fear me, some be rather mock-gospellers, than faithful ploughmen. I know many myself that profess the gospel, and live nothing thereafter. I know them, and have been conversant with some of them. I know them, and I speak it with a heavy heart, there is as little charity and good living in them as in any other; according to that which Christ said in the gospel to the great number of people that followed him, as though they had had an earnest zeal to his doctrine, whereas indeed they had it not;

Non quia vidistis signa, sed quia comedistis de panibus.

“Ye follow me, saith he, not because ye have seen the signs and miracles that I have done; but because ye have eaten the bread, and refreshed your bodies, therefore you follow me.” So that I think, many one now-a-days professeth the gospel for the living sake, not for the love they bear to God’s word. But they that will be true ploughmen, must work faithfully for God’s sake, for the edifying of their brethren. And as diligently as the husbandman plougheth for the sustentation of the body, so diligently must the prelates and ministers labour for the feeding of the soul; both the ploughs must still be doing, as most necessary for man. And wherefore are magistrates ordained, but that the tranquillity of the commonweal may be confirmed, limiting both ploughs?

But now for the fault of unpreaching prelates, methink I could guess what might be said for excusing of them: They are so troubled with lordly living, they be so placed in palaces, couched in courts, ruffling in their rents, dancing in their dominions, burdened with ambassages, pampering of their paunches, like a monk that maketh his jubilee; munching in their mangers, and moiling in their gay manors and mansions, and so troubled with loitering in their lordships, that they cannot attend it. They are otherwise occupied, some in the king’s matters, some are ambassadors, some of the privy council, some to furnish the court, some are lords of the parliament, some are presidents, and some comptrollers of mints.

Well, well, is this their duty? Is this their office? Is this their calling? Should we have ministers of the church to be comptrollers of the mints? Is this a meet office for a priest that hath cure of souls? Is this his charge? I would here ask one question; I would fain know who controlleth the devil at home in his parish, while he controlleth the mint? If the apostles might not leave the office of preaching to the deacons, shall one leave it for minting? I cannot tell you; but the saying is, that since priests have been minters, money hath been worse than it was before. And they say that the evilness of money hath made all things dearer. And in this behalf I must speak to England. “Hear, my country, England,” as Paul said in his first epistle to the Corinthians, the sixth chapter; for Paul was no sitting bishop, but a walking and a preaching

bishop. But when he went from them, he left there behind him the plough going still; for he wrote unto them, and rebuked them for going to law, and pleading their causes before heathen judges: "Is there," saith he, "utterly among you no wise man, to be an arbitrator in matters of judgment? What, not one of all that can judge between brother and brother; but one brother goeth to law with another, and that under heathen judges? *constitute contemptos qui sunt in ecclesia*, &c. Appoint them judges that are most abject and vile in the congregation." Which he speaketh in rebuking them; "For," saith he, *ad erubescentiam vestram dico*. "I speak it to your shame." So, England, I speak it to thy shame; is there never a nobleman to be a lord president*, but it must be a prelate? Is there never a wise man in the realm to be a comptroller of the mint? I speak it to your shame. I speak it to your shame. If there be never a wise man, make a water-bearer, a tinker, a cobbler, a slave, a page, comptroller of the mint: make a mean gentleman, a groom, a yeoman, or a poor beggar, lord president.

Thus I speak, not that I would have it so; but to your shame, if there be never a gentleman meet nor able to be lord president. For why are not the noblemen and young gentlemen of England so brought up in knowledge of God, and in learning, that they may be able to execute offices in the commonweal? The king hath a great many of wards, and I trow there is a court of wards; why is there not a school for the wards, as well as there is a court for their lands? Why are they not set in schools where they may learn? Or why are they not sent to the universities, that they may be able to serve the king when they come to age? If the wards and young gentlemen were well brought up in learning, and in the knowledge of God, they would not when they come to age so much give themselves to other vanities. And if the nobility be well trained in godly learning, the people would follow the same train. For truly, such as the noblemen be, such will the people be. And now, the only cause why noblemen be not made lord presidents, is because they have not been brought up in learning.

Therefore for the love of God appoint teachers and school-

* In those days it was as common for clergymen to hold civil offices, as it was for laymen to enjoy ecclesiastical dignities.

masters, you that have charge of youth; and give the teachers stipends worthy their pains, that they may bring them up in grammar, in logic, in rhetoric, in philosophy, in the civil law and in that which I cannot leave unspoken of, the word of God. Thanks be unto God, the nobility otherwise is very well brought up in learning and godliness, to the great joy and comfort of England; so that there is now good hope in the youth, that we shall another day have a flourishing commonweal, considering their godly education. Yea, and there be already noblemen enough, though not so many as I would wish, able to be lord presidents, and wise men enough for the mint. And as unmeet a thing it is for bishops to be lord presidents, or priests to be minters, as it was for the Corinthians to plead matters of variance before heathen judges. It is also a slander to the noblemen, as though they lacked wisdom and learning to be able for such offices, or else were no men of conscience, or else were not meet to be trusted, and able for such offices. And a prelate hath a charge and cure otherwise; and therefore he cannot discharge his duty and be a lord president too. For a presidentship requireth a whole man; and a bishop cannot be two men. A bishop hath his office, a flock to teach, to look unto; and therefore he cannot meddle with another office, which alone requireth a whole man: He should therefore give it over to whom it is meet, and labour in his own business; as Paul writeth to the Thessalonians; "Let every man do his own business, and follow his calling." Let the priest preach, and the noblemen handle the temporal matters. Moses was a marvellous man, a good man: Moses was a wonderful fellow, and did his duty, being a married man; we lack such as Moses was. Well, I would all men would look to their duty, as God hath called them, and then we should have a flourishing Christian commonweal.

And now I would ask a strange question; who is the most diligentest bishop and prelate in all England, that passeth all the rest in doing his office? I can tell, for I know him who it is; I know him well. But now I think I see you listening and hearkening that I should name him. There is one that passeth all the other, and is the most diligent prelate and preacher in all England. And will ye know who it is? I will tell you:

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it is the devil. He is the most diligent preacher of all other ; he is never out of his diocess ; he is never from his cure ; ye shall never find him unoccupied ; he is ever in his parish ; he keepeth residence at all times ; ye shall never find him out of the way, call for him when you will he is ever at home ; the diligentest preacher in all the realm ; he is ever at his plough ; no lording nor loitering can hinder him ; he is ever applying his business, ye shall never find him idle I warrant you. And his office is to hinder religion, to maintain superstition, to set up idolatry, to teach all kind of popery. He is ready as can be wished for to set forth his plough ; to devise as many ways as can be to deface and obscure God's glory. Where the devil is resident, and hath his plough going, there away with books and up with candles ; away with bibles and up with beads ; away with the light of the gospel, and up with the light of candles, yea, at noon-days. Where the devil is resident, that he may prevail, up with all superstition and idolatry ; censing, painting of images, candles, palms, ashes, holy water, and new service of men's inventing ; as though man could invent a better way to honour God with, than God himself hath appointed. Down with Christ's cross, up with purgatory pickpurse, up with him, the popish purgatory, I mean. Away with clothing the naked, the poor and impotent, up with decking of images, and gay garnishing of stocks and stones : up with man's traditions and his laws, down with God's traditions and his most holy word. Down with the old honour due to God, and up with the new god's honour. Let all things be done in Latin : there must be nothing but Latin, not so much as *Memento homo quod cinis es, et in cinerem reverteris*. "Remember man that thou art ashes, and into ashes shalt thou return : " which be the words that the minister speaketh unto the ignorant people, when he giveth them ashes upon Ash-wednesday, but it must be spoken in Latin. God's word may in no wise be translated into English.

Oh that our prelates would be as diligent, to sow the corn of good doctrine, as Satan is to sow cockle and darnel ! And this is the devilish ploughing, the which worketh to have things in Latin, and letteth the fruitful edification. But here some man will say to me, what, Sir, are ye so privy of the devil's counsel that ye know all this to be true ?—Truly I know him too well,

and have obeyed him a little too much in condescending to some follies; and I know him as other men do, yea that he is ever occupied, and ever busy in following his plough. I know by St. Peter, which saith of him, *Sicut leo rugiens circuit quærens quem devoret.* "He goeth about like a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour." I would have this text well viewed and examined, every word of it: "*Circuit,*" he goeth about in every corner of his diocess; he goeth on visitation daily, he leaveth no place of his cure unvisited: he walketh round about from place to place, and ceaseth not. "*Sicut leo,*" as a lion, that is, strongly, boldly, and proudly; stately and fiercely with haughty looks, with his proud countenances, with his stately braggings. "*Rugiens,*" roaring; for he letteth not slip any occasion to speak or to roar out when he seeth his time. "*Quærens,*" he goeth about *seeking*, and not sleeping, as our bishops do; but he seeketh diligently, he searcheth diligently all corners, whereas he may have his prey. He rovet abroad in every place of his diocess; he standeth not still, he is never at rest, but ever in hand with his plough, that it may go forward. But there was never such a preacher in England as he is. Who is able to tell his diligent preaching, which every day, and every hour, laboureth to sow cockle and darnel, that he may bring out of form, and out of estimation and renown, the institution of the Lord's supper and Christ's cross? For there he lost his right; for Christ said, *Nunc judicium est mundi, princeps seculi hujus ejicietur foras. Et sicut exaltavit Moses serpentem in deserto, ita exaltari oportet filium hominis. Et cum exaltatus fuero, à terra, omnia traham ad meipsum.* "Now is the judgment of this world, and the prince of this world shall be cast out. And as Moses did lift up the serpent in the wilderness, so must the son of man be lift up. And when I shall be lift up from the earth, I will draw all things unto myself."—(John iii.) For the devil was disappointed of his purpose; for he thought all to be his own: and when he had once brought Christ to the cross, he thought all cocksure.

But there lost he all reigning: for Christ said, *Omnia traham ad meipsum.* "I will draw all things to myself." He meaneth, drawing of man's soul to salvation. And that he said he would do *per semetipsum* by his own self; not by any

other body's sacrifice. He meant by his own sacrifice on the cross, where he offered himself for the redemption of mankind; and not the sacrifice of the mass to be offered by another. For who can offer him but himself? He was both the offerer and the offering. And this is the mark at the which the devil shooteth, to evacuate the cross of Christ, and to mingle the institution of the Lord's supper; the which although he cannot bring to pass, yet he goeth about by his sleights and subtil means to frustrate the same; and these fifteen hundred years he hath been a doer, only purposing to evacuate Christ's death, and to make it of small efficacy and virtue. For whereas Christ, "according as the serpent was lifted up in the wilderness, so would he himself be exalted; that thereby as many as trusted in him should have salvation; but the devil would none of that. They would have us saved by a daily oblation propitiatory; by a sacrifice expiatory, or remissory.

Now if I should preach in the country, among the unlearned, I would tell what propitiatory, expiatory, and remissory is; but here is a learned auditory: yet for them that be unlearned I will expound it. Propitiatory, expiatory, remissory, or satisfactory, for they signify all one thing in effect, and is nothing else but a thing whereby to obtain remission of sins, and to have salvation. And this way the devil used to evacuate the death of Christ, that we might have affiance in other things, as in the daily sacrifice of the priest; whereas Christ would have us to trust in his only sacrifice. So he was, *Agnus occisus ab origine mundi*. "The lamb that hath been slain from the beginning of the world;" and therefore he is called, *juge sacrificium*, "a continual sacrifice;" and not for the continuance of the mass, as the blanchers have blanced it, and wrested it; and as I myself did once mistake it. But Paul saith, *per semetipsum purgatio facta*. "By himself, and by none other, Christ made purgation and satisfaction for the whole world."

Would Christ this word, *by himself*, had been better weighed and looked upon, and *in sanctificationem*, to make them holy; for he is *juge sacrificium* a continual sacrifice, in effect, fruit and operation; that like as they, which seeing the serpent hang up in the desert, were put in remembrance of Christ's death, in whom as many as believed

were saved; so all men that trusted in the death of Christ shall be saved, as well they that were before, as they that came after. For he was a continual sacrifice, as I said, in effect, fruit, operation, and virtue. As though he had from the beginning of the world, and continually should to the world's end, hang still on the cross; and he is as fresh hanging on the cross now, to them that believe and trust in him, as he was fifteen hundred years ago, when he was crucified.

Then let us trust upon his only death, and look for none other sacrifice propitiatory, than the same bloody sacrifice, the lively sacrifice; and not the dry sacrifice, but a bloody sacrifice. For Christ himself said, *consummatum est*. "It is perfectly finished:" "I have taken at my Father's hand the dispensation of redeeming mankind, I have wrought man's redemption, and have despatched the matter." Why then mingle ye him? Why do ye divide him? Why make you of him more sacrifices than one? Paul saith, *Pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus*. "Christ our passover is offered up;" so that the thing is done, and Christ hath done it, and he hath done it *semel, always*, once for all: and it was a bloody sacrifice, not a dry sacrifice.

Why then, it is not the mass that availeth or profiteth for the quick and the dead. Wo worth thee, O Devil, wo worth thee, that hast prevailed so far and so long; that hast made England to worship false gods, forsaking Christ their Lord. Wo worth thee devil, wo worth thee devil, and all thy angels. If Christ by his death draweth all things to himself, and draweth all men to salvation, and to heavenly bliss, that trust in him; then the priests at the mass, at the popish mass, I say, what can they draw, when Christ draweth all, but lands and goods from the right heirs? The priests draw goods and riches, benefices, and promotions to themselves; and such as believed in their sacrifices they draw to the devil. But Christ is he that draweth souls unto him by his bloody sacrifice. What have we to do then, but *epulari in Domino*, to eat in the Lord at his supper?

What other service have we to do to him, and what other sacrifice have we to offer, but the mortification of our flesh? What other oblation have we to make, but of obedience, of good living, of good works, and of helping our neighbours?

But as for our redemption, it is done already, it cannot be better: Christ hath done that thing so well, that it cannot be amended. It cannot be devised how to make that any better than he hath done it. But the devil, by the help of that Italian bishop yonder, his chaplain, hath laboured by all means that he might, to frustrate the death of Christ and the merits of his passion. And they have devised for that purpose to make us believe in other vain things by his pardons; as to have remission of sins for praying on hallowed beads; for drinking of the bakehouse bowl; as a canon of Waltham Abbey once told me, that whensoever they put their loaves of bread into the oven, as many as drank of the pardon bowl should have pardon for drinking of it. A mad thing, to give pardon to a bowl. Then to Pope Alexander's holy water, to hallowed bells, palms, candles, ashes, and what not? And of these things, every one hath taken away some part of Christ's sanctification; every one hath robbed some part of Christ's passion and cross, and hath mingled Christ's death, and hath been made to be propitiatory and satisfactory, and to put away sin. Yea, and Alexander's holy water yet at this day remaineth in England, and is used for a remedy against spirits and to chase away devils; yea, and I would this had been the worst. I would this were the worst. But wo worth thee, O devil, that hast prevailed to evacuate Christ's cross, and to mingle the Lord's supper. These be the Italian bishop's devices, and the devil hath pricked at this mark to frustrate the cross of Christ: he shot at this mark long before Christ came, he shot at it four thousand years before Christ hanged on the cross, or suffered his passion.

For the brazen serpent was set up in the wilderness, to put men in remembrance of Christ's coming; that like as they which beheld the brazen serpent were healed of their bodily diseases, so they that looked spiritually upon Christ that was to come, in him should be saved spiritually from the devil. The serpent was set up in memory of Christ to come, but the devil found means to steal away the memory of Christ's coming, and brought the people to worship the serpent itself, and to cense him, to honour him, and to offer to him, to worship him, and to make an idol of him. And this was done by the market-men that I told you of. And the clerk of the market

did it for the lucre and advantage of his master, that thereby his honour might increase; for by Christ's death he could have but small worldly advantage. And so even now so hath he certain blanchers belonging to the market, to let and stop the light of the gospel, and to hinder the king's proceedings in setting forth the word and glory of God. And when the king's majesty, with the advice of his honourable council, goeth about to promote God's word, and to set an order in matters of religion, there shall not lack blanchers that will say; as for images, whereas they have used to be censured, and to have candles offered unto them, none be so foolish to do it to the stock or stone, or to the image itself; but it is done to God and his honour before the image. And though they should abuse it, these blanchers will be ready to whisper the king in the ear, and to tell him, that this abuse is but a small matter; and that the same, with all other like abuses in the church, may be reformed easily. "It is but a little abuse, say they, and it may be easily amended. But it should not be taken in hand at the first, for fear of trouble or further inconveniencies. The people will not bear sudden alterations; an insurrection may be made after sudden mutation, which may be to the great harm and loss of the realm. Therefore all things shall be well, but not out of hand, for fear of further business." These be the blanchers that hitherto have stopped the word of God, and hindered the true setting forth of the same. There be so many put-offs, so many put-byes, so many respects and considerations of worldly wisdom: And I doubt not but there were blanchers in the old time to whisper in the ear of good King Hezekiah, for the maintenance of idolatry done to the brazen serpent, as well as there hath been now of late, and be now, that can blanch the abuse of images, and other like things.

But good King Hezekiah would not be so blinded; he was like to Apollos, fervent in spirit. He would give no ear to the blanchers; he was not moved with the worldly respects, with these prudent considerations, with these policies: he feared not insurrections of the people: he feared not lest his people would not bear the glory of God, but he (without any of these respects, or policies, or considerations, like a good king, for God's sake and for conscience sake) by and by

plucked down the brazen serpent, and destroyed it utterly, and beat it to powder. He out of hand did cast out all images, he destroyed all idolatry, and clearly did extirpate all superstition. He would not hear these blanchers and worldly wise men, but without delay followeth God's cause, and destroyeth all idolatry out of hand. Thus did good King Hezekiah; for he was like Apollos, fervent in spirit, and diligent to promote God's glory.

And good hope there is that it shall be likewise here in England; for the king's majesty is so brought up in knowledge, virtue, and godliness, that it is not to be mistrusted but that we shall have all things well, and that the glory of God shall be spread abroad throughout all parts of the realm, if the prelates will diligently apply their plough, and be preachers rather than lords. But our blanchers, which will be lords, and no labourers, when they are commanded to go and be resident upon their cures, and preach in their benefices, they would say; Why? I have set a deputy there; I have a deputy that looketh well to my flock, and the which shall discharge my duty. A deputy, quoth he, I looked for that word all this while. And what a deputy must he be trow ye? Even one like himself; he must be a Canonist: that is to say, one that is brought up in the study of the pope's laws and decrees; one that will set forth papistry as well as himself will do; and one that will maintain all superstition and idolatry; and one that will nothing at all, or else very weakly, resist the devil's plough; yea, happy it is if he take no part with the devil: and where he should be an enemy to him, it is well if he take not the devil's part against Christ.

But in the mean time, the prelates take their pleasures. They are lords and no labourers; but the devil is diligent at his plough. He is no unpreaching prelate: He is no lordly loiterer from his cure; but a busy ploughman; so that among all the prelates, and among all the pack of them that have cure, the devil shall go for my money, for he still applieth his business. Therefore, ye unpreaching prelates, learn of the devil: to be diligent in doing of your office, learn of the devil: and if you will not learn of God, nor good men, for shame learn of the devil; *ad erubescitiam vestram dico*, "I speak it for your shame:" If you will not learn of God, nor good men,

to be diligent in your office, learn of the devil. Howbeit there is now very good hope that the king's majesty, being by the help of good governance of his most honourable counsellors, trained and brought up in learning, and knowledge of God's word, will shortly provide a remedy, and set an order herein ; which thing that it may so be, let us pray for him. Pray for him, good people ; pray for him. Ye have great cause and need to pray for him.

THE
SEVEN SERMONS
OF THE
REVEREND FATHER M. HUGH LATIMER,
WHICH HE PREACHED BEFORE
OUR LATE SOVEREIGN LORD OF FAMOUS MEMORY,
KING EDWARD THE SIXTH,
WITHIN THE PREACHING-PLACE
IN THE PALACE AT WESTMINSTER,
In the Year of our Lord 1549.

**Whereunto are added other Two SERMONS, as well that he preached at Stamford,
as also the last that he made before the late King Edward,
which he called his ULTIMUM VALE.**

DEDICATION.

TO THE

RIGHT VIRTUOUS AND GRACIOUS

LADY KATHERINE, DUCHESS OF SUFFOLK,

THOMAS SOME,

HER HUMBLE AND FAITHFUL ORATOR, WISHETH GODLY FAVOUR AND
EVERLASTING SALVATION FROM GOD THE FATHER, THROUGH
JESUS CHRIST OUR MERCIFUL LORD.

WHEN man is born for man, that one to another should be a God, and not a devil; an helper, no hinderer; unto whom also the use of the tongue is only given, whereby they do both express and shew the affections of their minds, there is no man which can say, I have no need of any man. But amongst infinite mischiefs and evils of man's poverty and anguish, by which he hath need of other men's help, is the instruction of prudence or virtue, and of science. For mankind in this do precel chiefly brute beasts, because they help one another by mutual communication. In learning good and virtuous manners, the use of communing is required chiefly, that men erring, and ignorant, should be taught, for there is none which shall ever learn of himself, although he be never so happily born. Therefore it shall become every man, which do intend to be godly, to hear and learn godly books, to print heavenly documents in their hearts. For as evil doctrine, devilish books, and filthy talk, do corrupt good manners, so faithful precepts, godly books, chaste communing and honest, shall edify and confirm. Wherefore, intending to do good unto all men, and namely unto such as err and be ignorant, I have gathered, writ, and brought to light, the famous Friday Sermons of M. Hugh Latimer, which he preached in Lent last past, before our most noble King Edward the Sixth, at the New Palace of Westminster, the third year of his reign; which Sermons, (most virtuous lady), I dedicate unto your honourable grace, nothing doubting, but that you will gladly embrace them, not only because of their excellence, but chiefly for the profit which shall ensue through them unto the ignorant. For in them are fruitful and godly documents, directing ordinately not only the steps, conversation, and living of kings; but also of other ministers and

subjects under him. And let no man be grieved though it be not so exactly done, as he did speak it, for in very deed I am not able so to do, to write word for word as he did speak : that passeth my capacity, though I had twenty men's wits, and no fewer hands to write withal. As it is impossible that a little river should receive the recourse of the main sea within his brims, so that no water should overwhelm the sides thereof; in like manner is it more unlike my simple wit to comprehend absolutely the abundant eloquence and learning which floweth most abundantly out of godly Latimer's mouth. Notwithstanding, yet had I rather with shamefastness declare charitably, this part of his godly documents and counsel, than with slothfulness forget or keep close foolishly that thing which may profit many.

Who is that will not be glad to hear and believe the doctrine of godly Latimer ; when God hath appointed a prophet, unto our most noble king, and unto our realm of England, to declare the message of the living God, to supplant and root out all sins and vice, to plant and graft in men's hearts, the plenteousness of all spiritual blessings in Jesus Christ our Lord ?

Moses, Jeremias, Elias, did never declare the true message of God unto their rulers and people, with a more sincere spirit, faithful mind and godly zeal, than godly Latimer doth now in our days unto our most noble king, and unto the whole realm. Furthermore, also, Josiah received never the book of God's will, at the hands of Helkiah the high priest, or the admonition of Huldu, that prophetess, with a more perfect and godly feare, than our most noble king doth most faithfully give credit unto the words of good father Latimer. And I have no doubt but all godly men will likewise receive gladly his godly sermons and give credit unto the same. Therefore this my rude labour of another man's sweat, (most virtuous lady), I offer most humbly unto your grace, moved thereunto of godly zeal, through the godly fame, that is disperst universally of your most godly disposition and unfeigned love towards the living, almighty, eternal God and his holy word, practised daily both in your grace's most virtuous behaviour, and also godly charity towards the edification of every member grafted in Christ Jesu, most humbly desiring your grace to accept favourably this my timorous enterprise. And I your most humble and faithful orator shall pray unto Jehovah, the which is of himself, by whom, and in whom, all things live, move, and be, that that good work which he hath begun in you, he may perform it unto your last ending, through our Lord Jesu Christ, who preserve and keep your grace, now and ever. So be it.

THE
FIRST SERMON
PREACHED BEFORE KING EDWARD,
MARCH 8th, 1549.

ROMANS xv. 4.

Quaecunque scripta sunt ; ad nostram doctrinam scripta sunt.

Whatsoever things are written aforetime, are written for our learning; that we through patience and comfort of scripture might have hope.

IN taking this part of scripture, most noble audience, I play as a truant, which when he is at school will choose a lesson wherein he is perfect, because he is loth to take pain in studying a new lesson, or else feareth stripes for his slothfulness:—In like manner I might seem now in my old age to some men, to take this part of scripture, because I would wade easily away therewith, and drive my matter at my pleasure, and not to be bound unto a certain theme. But ye shall consider, that the foresaid words of Paul are not to be understood of all scriptures, but only of those which are of God written in God's book; and all things which are therein, “are written for our learning.” The excellency of this word is so great, and of so high dignity, that there is no earthly thing to be compared unto it. The author thereof is great, that is, God himself eternal, almighty, everlasting. The scripture because of him is also great, eternal, most mighty and holy. There is no king, emperor, magistrate, and ruler, of what state soever they be, but are bound to obey this God, and to give credence unto his holy word, in directing their steps ordinately according unto the same word: Yea truly, they are not only bound to obey God's book, but also the minister of the same, “for the word's sake,” so far as he speaketh “sitting in Moses' chair;” that is, if his doctrine be taken out of Moses' law. For in this world God hath two swords, the one is a temporal sword, the other a spiritual. The temporal sword resteth in the hands of

kings, magistrates, and rulers, under him, whereunto all subjects, as well the clergy as the laity, be subject, and punishable for any offence contrary to the same book. The spiritual sword is in the hands of the ministers and preachers; whereunto all kings, magistrates, rulers, ought to be obedient; that is to hear and follow, so long as the ministers sit in Christ's chair; that is, speaking out of Christ's book. The king correcteth transgressors with the temporal sword, yea, and the preacher also, if he be an offender. But the preacher cannot correct the king, if he be a transgressor of God's word, with the temporal sword; but he must correct and reprove him with the spiritual sword, fearing no man, setting God only before his eyes; under whom he is a minister, to supplant and root up all vice and mischief by God's word: whereunto all men ought to be obedient; as is mentioned in many places of scripture, and amongst many this is one; *Quæcunque jusserint vos servare servate, et facite*: "Whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do." (Matt. xxiii.) Therefore let the preacher teach, improve, amend, and instruct in righteousness, with the spiritual sword, fearing no man, though death should ensue. Thus Moses, fearing no man, with this sword did reprove king Pharaoh at God's commandment.

Micaiah the prophet also did not spare to blame King Ahab for his wickedness, according to God's will, and to prophesy of his destruction, contrary unto many false prophets (2 Chron. xviii.) These foresaid kings, being admonished by the ministers of God's word, because they would not follow their godly doctrine, and correct their lives, came unto utter destruction. Pharaoh giving no credit unto Moses, the prophet of God, but appliant unto the lusts of his own heart, what time he heard of the passage of God's people, having no fear or remembrance of God's work, he did prosecute after, intending to destroy them; and was drowned in the Red Sea. King Ahab also, because he would not hearken unto Micaiah, was killed with an arrow. Likewise also the house of Jeroboam, with other many, came unto destruction, because he would not hear the ministers of God's word, and correct his life according unto his will and pleasure. Let the preacher therefore never fear to declare the message of God unto all men. And if the king will not hear them, then the preachers may admonish and

charge them with their duties, and so leave them unto God, and pray for them. But if the preachers digress out of Christ's chair, and shall speak their own phantasies, then, instead of *Quæcunque jusserint vos facere, facite et servate*, "Whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do;" change it into these words following: *Cavete vero vobis à pseudo-prophetis, qui veniunt ad vos, &c.*, "Beware of false prophets, which come unto you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves; ye shall know them by their fruits." Yea, change *Quæcunque jusserint*, "Whatsoever they bid you to do," if their doctrine be evil, into *Cavete à fermento Pharisæorum, &c.*, that is, "Take heed, and beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and of the Sadducees."

In teaching evil doctrine all preachers are to be eschewed, and in no wise to be hearkened unto. In speaking truth, they are to be heard. All things written in God's book, are most certain, true, and profitable for all men: for in it is contained meet matter for kings, princes, rulers, bishops, and for all states. Wherefore it behoveth every preacher somewhat to appoint and accomodate himself and his matter, agreeable unto the comfort and amendment of the audience unto the which he declareth the message of God. If he preach before a king, let his matter be concerning the office of a king; if before a bishop, then let him treat of bishoply duties and orders, and so forth in other matters, as time and audience shall require.

I have thought it good to entreat upon these words following, which are written in the seventeenth chapter of Deuteronomy, *Cum veneris in terram quam Dominus Deus dat tibi possederisque eam, &c.*, that is, "When thou art come unto the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee, and enjoyest it, and dwellest therein; if thou shalt say, I will set a king over me, like unto all the nations that are about me: then thou shalt make him king over thee, whom the Lord thy God shall choose. One of thy brethren must thou make king over thee, and mayst not set a stranger over thee, which is not of thy brethren. But in any wise let him not hold too many horses, that he bring not the people again to Egypt through the multitude of horses; forasmuch as the Lord hath said unto you, Ye shall henceforth go no more again that way. Also he shall not

have too many wives, lest his heart turn away : neither shall he gather him silver and gold too much."

As in divers other places of scripture is meet matter for all estates, so in this foresaid place is described chiefly the doctrine fit for a king. But who is worthy to utter this doctrine before our most noble king? Not I, God knoweth, which am through age both weak in body and oblivious; unapt I am, not only because of painful study, but also for this short warning. Well, unto God I will make my moan, who never failed me. *Auxiliator in necessitatibus*, "God is my helper in all my necessities;" to him alone will I make my petition. To pray unto saints departed I am not taught; to desire like grace of God as they had, (right godly it is), or to believe God to be no less merciful unto us, (being faithful,) than he was unto them, greatly comfortable it is. Therefore only unto God let us lift up our hearts, and say the Lord's prayer.

"*Cum veneris, &c.*—When thou art come unto the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee, thou shalt appoint him king over thee, whom the Lord thy God shall choose.

1. "ONE of the brethren must thou make king over thee; and must not set a stranger over thee, which is not of thy brethren.

2. "But in any wise let not such one prepare unto himself many horses, that he bring not my people again unto Egypt.

3. "Furthermore, let him not prepare unto himself many wives, lest his heart recede from God.

4. "Nor he shall not multiply unto himself too much gold and silver."

As the text doth rise, I will touch and go a little in every place, until I come unto too much. I will touch all the foresaid things, but not too much. The text is, "When thou shalt come into the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee," &c. To have a king, the Israelites did with much importunity call unto God, and God long before promised them a king; and they were full certified thereof, that God had promised that thing. For unto Abraham he said, *Ego crescere te faciam vehementer ponamque te in gentes, sed et reges ex te prodibunt*, that is, "I will multiply thee exceedingly, and will make nations of thee; yea, and kings shall spring out of thee." (Gen. xvii.) These words were spoken long before the children of Israel had

any king. Notwithstanding, yet God prescribed unto them an order, how they should choose their king, and what manner of man he should be, where he saith, "When thou shalt come into the land," &c. As who should say, O ye children of Israel, I know your nature right well, which is evil, and inclined unto all evils. I know that thou wilt choose a king to reign over thee, and to appear glorious in the face of the world, after the manners of Gentiles. But because thou art stiff-necked, wild, and art given to walk without a bridle and line; therefore now I will prevent thy evil and beastly manners, I will hedge strongly thy way, I will make a durable law, which shall compel thee to walk ordinately, and in a plain way: that is, thou shalt not choose thee a king after thy will and phantasy, but after me thy Lord and God.

Thus God conditioned with the Jews, that their king should be such a one as he himself would choose them. This was not much unlike a bargain that I heard of late should be betwixt two friends for a horse: the owner promised the other should have the horse if he would; the other asked the price; he said twenty nobles. The other would give him but four pound. The owner said he should not have him then. The other claimed the horse, because he said he should have him if he would.—Thus this bargain became a Westminster matter; the lawyers got twice the value of the horse; and when all came to all, two fools made an end of the matter. Howbeit the Israelites could not go to law with God for choosing their king, for would they, nil they, their king should be of his choosing, lest they should walk inordinately in a deceivable way, unto their utter loss and destruction; for as they say commonly, *Qui vadit plane, vadit sane*, that is, "He that walketh plainly, walketh safely." As the Jews were stiff-necked, and were ever ready to walk inordinately, no less are we Englishmen given to untowardness, and inordinate walking after our own phantasies and brains. We will walk without the limits of God's word, we will choose a king at our own pleasure. But let us learn to frame our lives after the noble king David, which when he had many occasions given of king Saul to work evil for evil; yea and having many times opportunity to perform mischief, and to slay king Saul; nevertheless yet fearing, would not follow his fleshly affections, and walk inordinately without the will of

God's word, which he confessed always to be his direction ; saying, *Lucerna pedibus meis verbum tuum et lumen semitis meis*, "Thy word, O Lord, is a lantern unto my feet, and a light unto my steps." (Ps. cxix.) Thus having in mind to walk ordinally, he did always avoid to do evil. For when king Saul was in a cave without any man, David and his men sitting by the sides of the cave, yea and David's men moved him to kill Saul, David made answer and said unto them, *Servet me Dominus, ne rem istam, contra dominum meum Messiam*, &c., that is, "The Lord keep me from doing this thing unto my master, that is the Lord's anointed." At another time also, moved by Abishai to kill Saul sleeping, David said, *Ne interficias eum, quis enim impune manum suam inferret uncto Domino*, &c., that is, "Destroy him not ; for who can lay his hands on the Lord's anointed, and be guiltless?" &c. I would God we would follow king David, and then we should walk ordinally, and yet do but that we are bound of duty to do : for God saith, *Quod ego præcipio, hoc tantum facito*, "That thing which I command, that only do." There is a great error risen now-a-days among many of us, which are vain and new-fangled men, climbing beyond the limits of our capacity and wit, in wrenching this text of scripture hereafter following after their own phantasy and brain, their error is upon this text ; *Audi vocem populi in omnibus quæ dicunt tibi, non enim te reprobant sed me reprobarunt ne regnem super eos* : that is, "Hear the voice of the people in all that they say unto thee ; for they have not cast thee away, but me." (1 Sam. viii.) They wrench these words awry after their own phantasies, and make much doubt as touching a king and his godly name. They that so do, walk inordinately, they walk not directly and plainly, but delight in balks and stubble way.

It maketh no matter by what name the rulers be named, if so be they shall walk ordinally with God, and direct their steps with God. For both patriarchs, judges, and kings, had and have their authority of God, and therefore godly. But this ought to be considered which God saith, *Non præficere tibi potes hominem alienum*, that is, "Thou must not set a stranger over thee." It hath pleased God to grant us a natural liege king and lord of our own nation, an Englishman, one of our own religion. God hath given him unto us, and is a most precious

treasure; and yet many of us do desire a stranger to be king over us. Let us no more now desire to be bankers, but let us endeavour to walk ordinately and plainly after the word of God.

Let us follow Daniel; let us not seek the death of our most noble and rightful king, our own brother both by nativity and godly religion. Let us pray for his good state, that he live long among us.

Oh, what a plague were it, that a strange king, of a strange land, and of a strange religion, should reign over us? Where now we be governed in the true religion, he should extirp and pluck away altogether; and then plant again all abomination and popery. God keep such a king from us. Well, the king's grace hath sisters, my lady Mary and my lady Elizabeth, which by succession and course are inheritors to the crown, who, if they should marry with strangers, what should ensue? God knoweth. But God grant (if they so do, whereby strange religion cometh in) that they never come unto coursing nor succeeding. Therefore to avoid this plague, let us amend our lives, and put away all pride, which doth drown men in this realm at these days; all covetousness, wherein the magistrates and rich men of this realm are overwhelmed; all lechery, and other excessive vices, provoking God's wrath, were he not merciful, even to take from us our natural king and liege lord; yea, and to plague us with a strange king, for our unrepentant heart. Wherefore, if, as ye say, ye love the king, amend your lives, and then ye shall be a mean that God shall lend him us long to reign over us. For undoubtedly sins provoke much God's wrath. Scripture saith, *Dabo tibi regem, in furore meo*, that is, "I will give thee a king in my wrath." Now, we have a lawful king, a godly king: nevertheless, yet many evils do reign. Long time the ministers appointed have studied to amend, and redress all evils; long time before this, great labour hath been about this matter; great cracks hath been made, that all should be well; but when all came to all, for all their boasts, little or nothing was done, in whom these words of Horace may well be verified, saying, *Parturiunt montes, nascitur ridiculus mus*, "The mountains swell up, the poor mouse is brought out." Long before this time, many

hath taken in hand to bring many things unto pass, but finally their works came unto small effect and profit.

Now I hear say all things are ended after a godly manner, or else shortly shall be. Make haste, make haste; and let us learn to convert, to repent, and amend our lives. If we do not, I fear, I fear lest for our sins and unthankfulness, an hypocrite shall reign over us. Long we have been servants and in bondage, serving the pope in Egypt. God hath given us a deliverer, a natural king: let us seek no stranger of another nation, no hypocrite which shall bring in again all papistry, hypocrisy and idolatry: no diabolical minister, which shall maintain all devilish works and evil exercises. But let us pray that God maintain and continue our most excellent king here present, true inheritor of this our realm, both by nativity, and also by the special gift and ordinance of God. He doth us rectify in the liberty of the gospel, in that therefore let us stand; *State ergo in libertate, qua Christus nos liberavit*, "Stand ye in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free." (Gal. v.) 'In Christ's liberty we shall stand, if we so live that we profit; if we cast away all evil, fraud and deceit, with such other vices, contrary to God's word. And in so doing, we shall not only prolong and maintain our most noble king's days in prosperity, but also we shall prosper our own lives, to live not only prosperously, but also godly.

"In any wise, let not such a one prepare unto himself many horses," &c. In speaking these words, ye shall understand, that I do not intend to speak against the strength, policy and provision of a king; but against excess, and vain trust that kings have in themselves more than in the living God, the author of all goodness, and giver of all victory.—Many horses are requisite for a king; but he may not exceed in them, nor triumph in them, more than is needful for the necessary affairs and defence of the realm. What meaneth it, that God hath to do with the king's stable, but only he would be master of his horses? The scripture saith, *In altis habitat*, "He dwelleth on high." It followeth, *Humilia respicit*, "He looketh on low things;" (Psalm cxii.) yea, upon the king's stables, and upon all the offices in his house. God is the great grandmaster of the king's house, and will take account of every one that

beareth rule therein, for the executing of their offices ; whether they have justly and truly served the king in their offices, or no. Yea, God looketh upon the king himself, if he work well or not. Every king is subject unto God, and all other men are subjects unto the king. In a king God requireth faith, not excess of horses. Horses for a king be good and necessary, if they be well used ; but horses are not to be preferred above poor men. I was once offended with the king's horses, and therefore took occasion to speak in the presence of the king's majesty that dead is when abbies stood. Abbies were ordained for the comfort of the poor ; wherefore I said, it was not decent that the king's horses should be kept in them, as many were at that time ; the living of poor men thereby diminished and taken away. But afterward a certain nobleman said to me. What hast thou to do with the king's horses ? I answered and said, I spake my conscience, as God's word directed me. He said, Horses be the maintenances and part of a king's honour, and also of his realm ; wherefore in speaking against them, ye are against the king's honour. I answered, God teacheth what honour is decent for the king, and for all other men according unto their vocations. God appointeth every king a sufficient living for his state and degree, both by lands and other customs ; and it is lawful for every king to enjoy the same goods and possessions. But to extort and take away the right of the poor, is against the honour of the king. And you who do move the king to do after that manner, then you speak against the honour of the king ; for I full certify you, extortioners, violent oppressors, ingrossers of tenements and lands, through whose covetousness villages decay and fall down, the king's liege people for lack of sustenance are famished and decayed. They be those which speak against the honour of the king. God requireth in the king and all magistrates a good heart, to walk directly in his ways, and in all subjects an obedience due unto a king. Therefore I pray God both the king, and also we his people, may endeavour diligently to walk in his ways, to his great honour and our profit.

“ Let him not prepare unto himself too many wives,” &c. Although we read here that the kings amongst the Jews had liberty to take more wives than one, we may not therefore attempt to walk inordinately, and to think that we may take

also many wives. For Christ hath forbidden this unto us Christians. And let us not impute sin unto the Jews because they had many wives; for they had a dispensation so to do. Christ limiteth unto us one wife only; and it is a great thing for a man to rule one wife rightly and ordinately. For a woman is frail, and proclive unto all evils; a woman is a very weak vessel, and may soon deceive a man and bring him unto evil. Many examples we have in holy scripture. Adam had but one wife, called Eve, and how soon had she brought him to consent unto evil, and to come to destruction? How did wicked Jezebel pervert king Ahab's heart from God and all godliness, and finally unto destruction? It is a very hard thing for a man to rule well one woman. Therefore let our king, what time his grace shall be so minded to take a wife, choose him one which is of God, that is, which is of the household of faith. Yea, let all estates be no less circumspect in choosing her, taking great deliberation, and then they shall not need divorcements, and such mischiefs, to the evil example and slander of our realm. And that she be such one as the king can find in his heart to love, and lead his life in pure and chaste espousage; and then he shall be the more prone and ready to advance God's glory, and to punish and to extirp the great lechery used in this realm.

Therefore we ought to make a continual prayer unto God for to grant our king's grace such a mate as may knit his heart and hers, according to God's ordinance and law; and not to consider and cleave only to a politic matter or conjunction, for the enlarging of dominions, for surety and defence of countries, setting apart the institution and ordinance of God. We have now a pretty little shilling indeed, a very pretty one: I have but one, I think, in my purse; and the last day I had put it away almost for an old groat: and so I trust some will take them. The fineness of the silver I cannot see: but therein is printed a fine sentence, that is, *TIMOR DOMINI FONS VITÆ VEL SAPIENTIÆ*; "The fear of the Lord is the fountain of life or wisdom." I would God this sentence were always printed in the heart of the king in choosing his wife, and in all his officers. For like as the fear of God is *fons sapientiæ aut vitæ*, the fountain of wisdom, or of life; so the forgetting of God is *fons stultitiæ*, the fountain of foolishness, or of death, al-

though it be never so politic; for upon such politic matters death doth ensue and follow.

All their divorcements and other like conditions, to the great displeasure of almighty God; which evils, I fear me, are much used in these days, in the marriage of noblemen's children, for joining lands to lands, possessions to possessions; neither the virtuous education nor living being regarded: but in the infancy such marriages be made, to the displeasure of God, and breach of espousals.

Let the king therefore choose unto him a godly wife, whereby he shall the better live chaste; and in so living, all godliness shall increase, and righteousness be maintained. Notwithstanding, I know hereafter some will come and move your grace towards wantonness, and to the inclination of the flesh and vain affections. But I would your grace should bear in memory an history of a good king called Lewis*, that travelled towards the Holy Land (which was a great matter in those days) and by the way sickened, being long absent from his wife. And upon this matter the physicians did agree, that it was for lack of a woman; and did consult with the bishops therein; who did conclude, that because of the distance of his wife, being in another country, he should take a wench. This good king hearing their conclusion, would not assent thereunto; but said, he had rather be sick even unto death, than he would break his espousals. Wo worth such counselors! bishops! nay, rather buzzards!

Nevertheless, if the king should have consented to their conclusion, and accomplished the same, if he had not chanced well, they would have excused the matter: As I have heard of two that have consulted together, and according to the advice of his friend, the one of them wrought where the succession was not good. The other imputed a piece of reproach to him for his such counsel-given. He excused the matter, saying, that he gave him none other counsel, but if it had been his cause, he would have done likewise. So I think the bishops would have excused the matter, if the king should have reproved them for their counsel. I do not read that the king did rebuke them for

* Lewis IX., commonly called St. Louis, king of France. He made two crusades, one in 1242, and the other in 1270, and died in the latter year before Tunis.

their counsel ; but if he had, I know what would have been their answer : they would have said, We give you no worse counsel than we would have followed ourselves, had we been in like case.

Well, sir, this king did well, and had the fear of God before his eyes. He would not walk in by-walks, where are many balks. Amongst many balkings is much stumbling ; and by stumbling it chanceth many times to fall down to the ground. And therefore let us not take any by-walks, but let God's word direct us : let us not walk after, nor lean to our own judgments, and proceedings of our forefathers, nor seek not what they did, but what they should have done ; of which thing scripture admonisheth us, saying, *Ne inclinemus preceptis et traditionibus patrum neque faciamus quod videtur rectum in oculis nostris* ; " Let us not incline ourselves unto the precepts and traditions of our fathers ; nor let us do that seemeth right in our eyes." (Deut. xii.) But surely we will not exchange our fathers' doings and traditions with scripture ; but chiefly lean unto them and to their prescription, and do that seemeth good in our own eyes. But surely that is going down the ladder : *scala cæli*, as it was made by the pope, came to be a mass ; but that is a false ladder to bring men to heaven. The true ladder to bring a man to heaven, is the knowledge and following of scripture.

Let the king therefore choose a wife which feareth God ; let him not seek a proud wanton, and one full of rich treasures and worldly pomp.

" He shall not multiply unto himself too much gold and silver." Is there too much, think you, for a king ? God doth allow much unto a king, and it is expedient that he should have much ; for he hath great expenses, and many occasions to spend much for the defence and surety of his realms and subjects. And necessary it is that a king have a treasure always in a readiness for that, and such other affairs as be daily in his hands. The which treasure, if it be not sufficient, he may lawfully and with a safe conscience take taxes of his subjects. For it were not meet the treasure should be in the subjects' purses, when the money should be occupied, nor it were not best for themselves ; for the lack thereof it might cause both it, and all the rest that they have, should not long be theirs. And so, for a necessary and expedient occasion, it is warranted by God's

word to take of the subjects. But if there be sufficient treasures, and burdening of subjects be for a vain thing, so that he will require thus much or so much of his subjects, (which perchance are in great necessity and penury) then this covetous intent, and the request thereof, is *too much*, which God forbiddeth the king here in this place of scripture to have. But who shall see this too much, or to tell the king of this too much? think you any of the king's privy chamber? No: for fear of loss of favour. Shall any of his sworn chaplains? No: they be of the closet and keep close such matters. But the king himself must see this too much; and that shall he do by no means with the corporal eyes. Wherefore he must have a pair of spectacles, which shall have two clear sights in them; that is, that one is faith, not a seasonable faith, which shall last but a while, but a faith which is continuing in God.—The second clear sight is charity, which is fervent towards his christian brother. By them two must the king see ever when he hath too much. But few there be that use these spectacles, the more is their damnation.

Not without cause Chrysostom with admiration saith, *Miror si aliquis rectorum potest salvari*, "I marvel if any ruler can be saved."—Which words he speaketh, not of an impossibility, but of a great difficulty; for that their charge is marvellous great, and that none about them dare shew them the truth of the thing how it goeth.

Well then, if God will not allow a king too much, whether will he allow a subject too much? No, that he will not. Whether have any man here in England too much? I doubt most rich men have too much; for without too much we can get nothing. As for example, the physician: If the poor man be diseased, he can have no help without too much. And of the lawyer, the poor man can get no counsel, expedition, nor help in his matter, except he give him too much. At merchants' hands no kind of ware can be had, except we give for it too much. You landlords, you rent-raisers, I may say you step-lords, you unnatural lords, you have for your possessions yearly too much. For that here before went for twenty or forty pound by year, (which is an honest portion to be had gratis in one lordship of another man's sweat and labour,) now is let

for fifty or an hundred pound by year. Of this too much cometh this monstrous and portentous dearth is made by man, notwithstanding God doth send us plentifully the fruits of the earth, mercifully, contrary unto our deserts. Notwithstanding, too much which these rich men have, causeth such dearth, that poor men, which live of their labour, cannot with the sweat of their face have a living, all kind of victuals is so dear; pigs, geese, capons, chickens, eggs, &c. These things with other are so unreasonably enhanced; and I think verily that if it thus continue, we shall at length be constrained to pay for a pig a pound.

I will tell you, my lords and masters, this is not for the king's honour: Yet some will say, Knowest thou what belongeth unto the king's honour better than we? I answer, that the true honour of a king is most perfectly mentioned and painted forth in the scriptures, of which if ye be ignorant, for lack of time that ye cannot read it; albeit that your counsel be never so politic, yet is it not for the king's honour. What his honour meaneth ye cannot tell. It is the king's honour that his subjects be led in the true religion; that all his prelates and clergy be set about their work in preaching and studying, and not to be interrupted from their charge. Also it is the king's honour that the commonwealth be advanced, that the dearth of these foresaid things be provided for, and the commodities of this realm so employed, as it may be to the setting his subjects on work, and keeping them from idleness. And hercin resteth the king's honour and his office. So doing, his account before God shall be allowed and rewarded.

Furthermore, if the king's honour, as some men say, standeth in the great multitude of people; then these graziers, enclosers and rent-rearers, are hinderers of the king's honour. For whereas have been a great many of householders and inhabitants, there is now but a shepherd and his dog; so they hinder the king's honour most of all.

My lords and masters, I say also, that all such proceedings which are against the king's honour, (as I have a part declared before,) and as far as I can perceive, do intend plainly to make the yeomanry slavery, and the clergy shavery*. For such

* This play upon words, in which Latimer delighted, alluded to the scandalous seizure of the church-lands by the laity.

works are all singular, private wealth and commodity.—We of the clergy had too much, but that is taken away, and now we have too little. But for mine own part I have no cause to complain, for I thank God and the king, I have sufficient ; and God is my judge, I came not to crave of any man any thing ; but I know them that have too little.

There lieth a great matter by these appropriations, great reformation is to be had in them. I know where is a great market town, with divers hamlets and inhabitants, where do rise yearly of their labours to the value of fifty pound, and the vicar that serveth, (being so great a cure,) hath but twelve or fourteen marks by year ; so that of this pension he is not able to buy him books, nor give his neighbour drink ; all the great gain goeth another way.

My father was a yeoman, and had no lands of his own, only he had a farm of three or four pound by year at the uttermost, and hereupon he tilled so much as kept half a dozen men. He had walk for a hundred sheep ; and my mother milked thirty kine. He was able, and did find the king a harness, with himself and his horse, while he came to the place that he should receive the king's wages. I can remember that I buckled his harness when he went unto Blackheath field. He kept me to school, or else I had not been able to have preached before the king's majesty now. He married my sisters with five pound or twenty nobles apiece ; so that he brought them up in godliness and fear of God. He kept hospitality for his poor neighbours ; and some alms he gave to the poor. And all this he did of the said farm, where he that now hath it payeth sixteen pound by year, or more, and is not able to do any thing for his prince, for himself, nor for his children, or give a cup of drink to the poor.

Thus all the enhancing and rearing goeth to your private commodity and wealth. So that where ye had a single too much, you have that ; and since the same, ye have enhanced the rent, and so have increased another too much : So now ye have double too much, which is too too much. But let the preacher preach till his tongue be worn to the stumps, nothing is amended. We have good statutes made for the commonwealth, as touching commoners, enclosers, many meetings and

sessions; but in the end of the matter there cometh nothing forth. Well, well, this is one thing I will say unto you, from whence it cometh I know, even from the devil. I know his intent in it. For if ye bring it to pass, that the yeomanry be not able to put their sons to school, (as indeed universities do wondrously decay already,) and that they be not able to marry their daughters to the avoiding of whoredom; I say, ye pluck salvation from the people, and utterly destroy the realm. For by yeomen's sons the faith of Christ is, and hath been maintained chiefly. Is this realm taught by rich men's sons? No, no, read the Chronicles; ye shall find sometime noblemen's sons which have been unpreaching bishops and prelates, but ye shall find none of them learned men. But verily, they that should look to the redress of these things, be the greatest against them. In this realm are a great many folks, and amongst many I know but one of tender zeal, at the motion of his poor tenants hath let down his lands to the old rents for their relief. For God's love let not him be a phenix, let him not be alone, let him not be an hermit closed in a wall; some good man follow him, and do as he giveth example.

Surveyors there be, that greedily gorge up their covetous goods; hand-makers, I mean: honest men I touch not; but all such as survey, they make up their mouths, but the commons be utterly undone by them: whose bitter cry ascending up to the ears of the God of Sabaoth: the greedy pit of hell-burning fire, without great repentance, doth tarry and look for them. A redress God grant. For surely, surely, but that two things do comfort me, I would despair of redress in these matters. One is, that the king's majesty, when he cometh to age, will see a redress of these things so out of frame: giving example by letting down his own lands first, and then enjoin his subjects to follow him. The second hope I have, is, I believe that the general accounting day is at hand, the dreadful day of judgment, I mean, which shall make an end of all these calamities and miseries. For, as the scriptures be, *Cum dixerint, Pax, pax*, "When they shall say, Peace, peace," *Omnia tuta*, "All things are sure;" then is the day at hand: a merry day, I say, for all such as do in this world study to serve and please God, and continue in his faith, fear, and love;

and a dreadful horrible day for them that decline from God, walking in their own ways; to whom, as it is written in the twenty-fifth of Matthew, is said, *Ite, maledicti, in ignem eternum*, "Go, ye cursed, into everlasting punishment, where shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth." But unto the other he shall say; *Venite, benedicti*, "Come, ye blessed children of my Father, possess ye the kingdom prepared for you from the beginning of the world;" of the which God make us all partakers. *Amen.*

THE
SECOND SERMON
PREACHED BEFORE KING EDWARD,
MARCH 15th.

ROMANS xv. 4.

Quæcunque scripta sunt ; ad nostram doctrinam, &c.

All things that are written in God's book, in the holy Bible, they were written before our time, but yet to continue from age to age, as long as the world doth stand.

IN this book is contained doctrine for all estates, even for kings. A king herein may learn how to guide himself. I told you in my last sermon much of the duty of a king, and there is one place behind yet, and it followeth in the text: *Postquam autem sederit in solio regni sui*, &c., "And when the king is set in the seat of his kingdom, he shall write him out a book, and take a copy of the priests, or Levites." (Deut. xviii.) He shall have a book with him, and why? To read in it all the days of his life, to learn to fear God, and learn his laws and other things, as it followeth in the text with the appurtenances, and hangings on, that he turn not from God, neither to the right hand, nor to the left. And wherefore shall he do this? "That he may live long, he and his children."

Hitherto goeth the text. That I may declare this the better, to the edifying of your souls and the glory of God, I shall desire you to pray, &c.

Et postquam, &c., "And when the king is set in the seat of his kingdom, &c."

Before I enter into this place, right honourable audience, to furnish it accordingly, which by the grace of God I shall do at leisure, I would repeat the place I was in last, and furnish it with an history or two, which I left out in my last sermon. I was in a matter concerning the sturdiness of the Jews, a forward and stiff-necked kind of people, much like our English-

men now-a-days, that in the minority of a king, take upon them to break laws, and to go by-ways. For when God had promised them a king, when it came to the point, they refused him. These men walked by-walks; and the saying is, many by-walks, many balks; many balks, much stumbling; and where much stumbling is, there is sometimes a fall: howbeit there were some good walkers among them, that walked in the king's highway ordinarily, uprightly, plain Dunstable way; and for this purpose I would shew you an history which is written in the third of the Kings.

King David being in his childhood, an old man in his second childhood, for all old men are twice children, as the proverb is, *Senex bis puer*, an old man twice a child; it happened with him, as it doth oftentimes, when wicked men of a king's childhood take occasion of evil.

This King David being weak of nature, and impotent, inso-much that when he was covered with clothes, he could take no heat, was counselled of his servants to take a fair young maid to nourish him, and to keep him warm in his body; I suppose she was his wife. Howbeit he had no bodily company with her, and well she might be his wife. For though the scripture doth say, *Non cognovit eam*, "He knew her not," he had no carnal copulation with her, yet it saith not, *Non duxit eam uxorem*, "He married her not." And I cannot think that King David would have her to warm his bosom in bed, except she had been his wife; having a dispensation of God to have as many wives as he would: for God had dispensed with them to have many wives. Well, what happened to King David in his childhood, by the child of the devil? Ye shall hear: King David had a proud son whose name was Adonijah, a man full of ambition, desirous of honour, always climbing, climbing. Now whilst the time was of his father's childhood, he would depose his father, not knowing of his father's mind, saying, *Ego regnabo*, "I will reign, I will be king;" he was a stout stomached child, a by-walker, of an ambitious mind; he would not consent to his father's friends, but got him a chariot, and men to run before it; and divers other adherents to help him forward: worldly wise-men, such as had been before of his father's counsel, great men in the world, and some, no doubt of it, came of good-will, thinking no harm; for

they would not think that he did it without his father's will, having such great men to set him forth; for every man cannot have access at all times to the king, to know his pleasure. Well, algates*, he would be king. He makes a great feast, and thither he called Joab the ring-leader of his father's army, a worldly wise-man, a by-walker, that would not walk the king's high-way; and one Abiathar the high priest; for it is marvel if any mischief be in hand, if a priest be not at some end of it. They took him as king, and cried, *Vivat rex Adonijah*, "God save king Adonijah." David suffered all this, and let him alone, for he was in his childhood, a bedrid man. But see how God ordered the matter. Nathan the prophet, and Zadok a priest, and Benaiah, and the Cherithites and Pelethites, the king's guard, they were not called to the feast.

These were good men, and would not walk by-ways, therefore it was folly to break the matter to them; they were not called to counsel. Therefore Nathan, when he heard of this, he cometh to Bathsheba, Solomon's mother, and saith: "Hear ye not how Adonijah the son of Haggith reigneth king, David not knowing?" And he bad her put the king in mind of his oath that he sware, that her son Solomon should be king after him. This was wise counsel according to the proverb, *Qui vadit plane, vadit sane*: "He that walketh in the high plain way, walketh safely."

Upon this she went and brake the matter to David, and desired him to shew who should reign after him in Jerusalem; adding that if Adonijah were king, she and her son after his death should be destroyed: saying; *Nos erimus peccatores*, "We shall be sinners, we shall be taken for traitors: for though we meant no harm, but walked uprightly, yet because we went not the by-way with him, he being in authority will destroy us." And by and by cometh in Nathan, and taketh her tale by the end, and sheweth him how Adonijah was saluted king, and that he had bid to dinner the king's servants, all saving him, and Zadok, and Benaiah, and all his brethren the king's sons, save Solomon.

King David remembering himself, swore, As sure as God liveth, Solomon my son shall reign after me; and by and by

* Algates, that is, by all means.

commanded Nathan and Zadok, and his guard, the Cherethites and Pelethites, to take Solomon his son, and set him upon his mule, and anoint him king. And so they did, crying, *Vivat Solomon Rex*, "Long live King Solomon." Thus was Solomon throned, by the advice and will of his father: and though he were a child, yet was his will to be obeyed and fulfilled, and they ought to have known his pleasure.

Whilst this was a doing, there was such a joy and outcry of the people, for their new king, and blowing of trumpets, that Joab and the other company being in their jollity, and keeping good cheer, heard it, and suddenly asked, What is this ado? And when they perceived, that Solomon, by the advice of his father, was anointed king, by and by there was all whisht; all their good cheer was done, and all that were with Adonijah, went away, and let him reign alone, if he would: And why? He walked a by-way, and God would not prosper it.

God will not work with private authority, nor with any thing done inordinately. When Adonijah saw this, that he was left alone, he took sanctuary, and held by the horns of the altar, and swore that he would not depart thence till Solomon would swear that he should not lose his life. Here is to be noted the notable sentence, and great mercy of king Solomon.

Let him, saith he, order himself like a quiet man, and there shall not one hair fall from his head: *Sed si inventum fuerit, malum in eo*, "But if there shall be any evil found in him, if he hath gone about any mischief, he shall die for it." Upon this he was brought unto Solomon, and as the book saith, he did homage unto him. And Solomon said to him: *Vade in domum tuam*, "Get thee into thy house:" belike he meant to ward*, and there to see his wearing: as if he should say: Shew thyself without gall of ambition, to be a quiet subject, and I will pardon thee for this time: But I will see the wearing of thee. Here we may see the wonderful great mercy of Solomon, for this notorious treason that Adonijah had committed, it was a plain matter, for he suffered himself to be called king; it hung not of vehement suspicion or conjecture, nor sequel, or consequent; yet notwithstanding Solomon for that present forgave him, saying: I will not forget it utterly,

* Confinement.

but I will keep it in suspense, I will take no advantage of thee at this time. This Adonijah and Absalom were brethren, and came both of a strange mother; and Absalom likewise was a traitor, and made an insurrection against his father. Beware therefore these mothers; and let kings take heed how they marry, in what houses, in what faith. For strange bringing up bringeth strange manners.

Now giveth David an exhortation to Solomon, and teacheth him the duty of a king, and giveth him a lesson, as it followeth at large in the book, as he that list to read it, may see it there at full. But what doth Adonijah all this while? He must yet climb again, the gall of ambition was not out of his heart, he will now marry Abishag, the young queen that warmed king David's bosom, as I told you, and cometh me to Bathsheba desiring her to be a mean to Solomon her son that he might obtain his purpose; and bringeth me out a couple of lies at a clap, and committeth me two unlawful acts. For first he would have been king without his father's consent, and now he will marry his father's wife. And the two lies are these: first, said he to Bathsheba, "Thou knowest that the kingdom belongeth unto me, for I am the elder; the kingdom was mine." He lied falsely, it was none of his. Then said he, "All the eyes of Israel were cast upon me:" that is to say, all Israel consented to it; and there he lied falsely; for Nathan, Zadok, and other wise men, never agreed to it. Here was a great enterprise of Adonijah; he will be climbing still. Well, Bathsheba went at his request to her son Solomon, and asked a boon, and he granted her whatsoever she did ask. Notwithstanding he brake his promise afterward, and that right well; for all promises are not to be kept, specially if they be against the word of God, or not standing with a common profit.

And therefore as soon as Solomon heard that Adonijah would have married the young queen Abishag: "Nay, then let him be king too," said he: "I perceive now that he is a naughty man, a proud-hearted fellow, the gall of ambition is not yet out of his heart," and so commanded him to be put to death. Thus was Adonijah put to execution, whereas if he had kept his house, and not broken his injunction, he might have lived still. Abiathar, what became of him? The king, because he

had served his father before him, would not put him to death, but made him as it were a quondam. "Because thou hast been with my father," said he, "and didst carry the ark before him, I will not kill thee. But I will promise thee thou shalt never minister any more; *vade in agrum tuum*, get thee to thy land, and live there." A great matter of pity and compassion! So God grant us all such mercy.

And here was the end of Eli's stock, according to the promise and threatening of God. As for the Pelethites we do not read that they were punished. Marry, Shimei transgressed his injunction; for he kept not his house, but went out of Jerusalem to seek two servants of his, that had run from him; and when it came to Solomon's ear, it cost him his life.

I have ript the matter now to the pill, and have told you of plain walkers, and of by-walkers, and how a king in his childhood is a king, as well as in any other age. We read in scripture of such as were but twelve or eight years old, and yet the word of the Holy Ghost called them kings, saying: *Cæpit regnare*, "He began to reign," or he began to be king. Here is of by-walkers. This history would be remembered, the proverb is: *Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum*; "Happy is he that can beware by another man's jeopardy." For if we offend not as other do, it is not our own deserts. If we fall not, it is God's preservation. We are all offenders: for either we may do, or have done, or shall do, (except God preserve us,) as evil as the worst of them. I pray God we may all amend and repent; but we will all amend now I trust. We must needs amend our lives every man. The holy communion is at hand, and we may not receive it unworthily.

Well, to return to my history. King David, I say, was a king in his second childhood. And so young kings, though they be children, yet are they kings notwithstanding. And though it be written in scripture; *Væ tibi, O terra, ubi puer est rex*, "Wo to thee, O land, where the king is a child;" it followeth in another place: *Beata terra ubi rex nobili*, "Blessed is the land where there is a noble king;" where kings be no banqueters, no players, and where they spend not their time in hawking and hunting. And when had the king's majesty a council, that took more pain both night and day for the setting forth of God's word, and

profit of the commonwealth? And yet there be some wicked people that will say, "Tush, this gear will not tarry, it is but my lord protector's and my lord of Canterbury's doing: The king is a child, and he knoweth not of it." Jesu mercy! How like are we Englishmen to the Jews, ever stubborn, stiff-necked, and walking in by-ways. Yea, I think no Jew would at any time say, This gear will not tarry. I never heard nor read at any time that they said, These laws were made in such a king's days, when he was but a child; let us alter them. O Lord, what pity is this, that we should be worse than the Jews!

Blessed be the land, saith the word of God, where the king is noble. What people are they that say, The king is but a child? Have not we a noble king? Was there ever king so noble? so godly? brought up with so noble counselors? so excellent and well learned schoolmasters? I will tell you this, and I speak it even as I think. His majesty hath more godly wit and understanding, more learning and knowledge at this age, than twenty of his progenitors, that I could name, had at any time of their life*.

I told you in my last sermon of ministers, of the king's people, and had occasion to shew you how few noblemen were good preachers; and I left out an history then, which I will now tell you.

There was a bishop of Winchester in king Henry the Sixth's days, which king was but a child†, and yet there

* Edward the Sixth was a very extraordinary youth, and Cardan says, "All the graces were in him; that he had many tongues when he was yet but a child; together with the English, he had both Latin and French, nor was he ignorant of the Greek, Italian, and Spanish. The sweetness of his temper was such as became a mortal, his gravity becoming the majesty of a king, and his disposition suitable to his high degree." He took notes of almost every thing he heard, which he wrote first in Greek characters, that those about him might not understand him, and afterwards he copied out the whole fair in his diary. This journal is inserted among the records in Bishop Burnet's History of the Reformation.

* Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, and cardinal priest of the church of Rome, was the son of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, by his third wife, Catherine Swinford. Being educated for the church, he was made bishop of Lincoln, in 1397, by papal mandate. In 1404, he became lord chancellor, and the year following bishop of Winchester. In 1417, he lent Henry V. twenty thousand pounds towards carrying on his expedition against France, but took care to have the crown in pledge for the money. That year he went to the Holy

were many good acts made in his childhood; and I do not read that they were broken. This bishop was a great man born, and did bear such a stroke, that he was able to shoulder the lord protector. Well, it chanced that the lord protector and he fell out, and the bishop would bear nothing at all with him, but played me the satrapa*; so that the regent of France was fain to be sent for from beyond the seas, to set them at one, and go between them: for the bishop was as able and ready to buckle with the lord protector, as he was with him.

Was not this a good prelate? He should have been at home preaching in his diocese with a wannion.

This protector was so noble and godly a man, that he was called of every man the good duke Humphrey. He kept such a house as never was kept since in England, without any enhancing of rents, I warrant you, or any such matter. And the bishop for standing so stiffly by the matter, and bearing up the order of our mother the holy church, was made a cardinal at Calais; and thither the bishop of Rome sent him a cardinal's hat. He should have had a Tyburn tippet, a half-penny halter, and all such proud prelates. These Romish hats never brought good into England.

Upon this the bishop goeth me to the queen Katherine, the late king's wife, a proud woman, and a stout, and persuaded her, that if the duke were in such authority still, and lived, the people would honour him more than they did the king; and the king should not be set by; and so between them, I cannot tell how it came to pass, but at St. Edmundsbury, in a parliament, the good duke Humphrey was smothered.

Land, and, on his return, was present at the council of Constance. On the death of the king, he was one of the guardians of Henry VI., when disputes arose between him and Humphrey duke of Gloucester, which ended in the ruin and death of the latter. These contentions ran so high, that the duke of Bedford, regent of France, was called over to accommodate matters, but without effect. Two years afterwards the bishop received a cardinal's hat, and was appointed pope's legate. From this time he was continually engaged in public affairs; but in 1442, the duke of Gloucester drew up articles of impeachment against him, though the prosecution was soon dropped. The cardinal died June 14, 1447, within a month after the murder of the duke. Shakspeare has exhibited a dreadful picture of the death bed of Beaufort, but it is generally believed to be more poetical than true.

* An eastern term for the governor of a province.

But now to return to my text, and to make further rehearsal of the same, the matter beginneth thus: *Et postquam sederit Rex*, "And when the king is set in the seat of his kingdom—" What shall he do? Shall he dance and dally; banquet, hawk, and hunt? No forsooth, sir. For as God set an order in the king's stable, as I told you in my last sermon, so will he appoint what pastime a king shall have. What must he do then? He must be a student, he must write God's book himself; Not thinking because he is a king he hath license to do what he will, as these worldly flatterers are wont to say; "Yea, trouble not yourself, sir, ye may hawk and hunt, and take your pleasure. As for the guiding of your kingdom and people, let us alone with it."

These flattering clawbacks are original roots of all mischief, and yet a king may take his pastime in hawking or hunting, or such like pleasures. But he must use them for recreation, when he is weary of weighty affairs, that he may return to them the more lusty: and this is called pastime with good company. "He must write out a book himself." He speaketh of writing, because printing was not used at that time. And shall the king write it out himself? He meaneth, he shall see it written, and rather than he should be without it, write it himself. Jesus mercy! is God so chary with a king; to have him well brought up, and instructed? Yea, forsooth: For if the king be well ordered, the realm is well ordered.

Where shall we have a copy of this book? Of the Levites. And why? Because it shall be a true copy, not falsified.

Moses left the book in an old chest, and the Levites had it in keeping. (Deut. xviii.) And because there should be no error, no addition, nor taking away from it, he biddeth him fetch the copy of the Levites.

And was not here a great miracle of God how this book was preserved? It had lain hid many years, and the Jews knew not of it. Therefore at length, when they had found it, and knew it, they lamented for their ignorance that had so long been without it, and rent their clothes, repenting their unfaithfulness. And the Holy Bible, God's book, that we have among us, it hath been preserved hitherto by wonderful miracle of God, though the keepers of it were never so malicious. First ever since the bishop of Rome was first in authority, they have

gone about to destroy it; but God worketh wonderfully, he hath preserved it, maugre their hearts, and yet are we unthankful that we cannot consider it. I will tell you what a bishop of this realm said once to me: he sent for me, and marvelled that I would not consent to such traditions as were then set out. And I answered that I would be ruled by God's book, and rather than I would dissent one jot from it, I would be torn with wild horses. And I chanced in our communication, to name the Lord's Supper? Tush, saith the bishop, what do ye call the Lord's Supper? What new term is that? There stood by him a dubber, one Doctor Dubber, he dubbed him by and by, and said that this term was seldom read in the Doctors. And I made answer, that I would rather follow Paul in using his terms, than them, though they had all the Doctors on their side. "Why," said the bishop, "cannot we, without scriptures, order the people? How did they before the scripture was first written and copied out?" But God knoweth, full ill yet would they have ordered them; for seeing that having it, they have deceived us, in what case should we have been now without it? But thanks be to God, that by so wonderful a miracle he hath preserved the book still.

It followeth in the text: *Habebit secum*, "He shall have it with him:" in his progress, he must have a man to carry it, that when he is hawking and hunting, or in any pastime, he may always commune with them of it. He shall read in it, not once a year, for a time, or for his recreation when he is weary of hawking and hunting, but *cunctis diebus vitæ suæ*, "All the days of his life." Where are those worldlings now? These bladder-puffed up wily men? Wo worth them that ever they were about any king. But how shall he read this book, as the Homilies are read? Some call them homlies, and indeed so they may be well called, for they are homely handled. For though the priest read them never so well, yet if the parish like them not, there is such talking and babbling in the church that nothing can be heard; and if the parish be good and the priest naught, he will so hack it and chop it, that it were as good for them to be without it, for any word that shall be understood. And yet (the more pity) this is suffered of your grace's bishops in their diocesses unpunished. But I will be a suiter to your

grace, that ye will give your bishops charge ere they go home, upon their allegiance, to look better to their flock, and to see your majesty's injunctions better kept, and send your visitors in their tails. And if they be found negligent or faulty in their duties, out with them. I require it in God's behalf, make them quondams, all the pack of them. But peradventure ye will say : Where shall we have any to put in their rooms ? Indeed I were a presumptuous fellow, to move your grace to put them out, if there were not other to put in their places. But your majesty hath divers of your chaplains, well learned men, and of good knowledge ; and yet ye have some that be bad enough, hangers-on of the court, I mean not those. But if your majesty's chaplains, and my lord protector's, be not able to furnish their places, there is in this realm, thanks be to God, a great sight of laymen, well learned in the scriptures, and of virtuous and godly conversations, better learned than a great sight of us of the clergy.

I can name a number of them that are able, and would be glad, I dare say, to minister the function if they be called to it. I move it of conscience to your grace, let them be called to it orderly, let them have institution, and give them the names of the clergy. I mean not the name only, but let them do the function of a bishop, and live of the same : not as it is in many places, that one should have the name, and eight other the profit. For what an enormity is this in a christian realm to serve in a civility, having the profit of a provostship, and a deanery, and a parsonage ? But I will tell you what is like to come of it ; it will bring the clergy shortly into a very slavery. I may not forget here my *scala cali*, that I spake of in my last sermon. I will repeat it now again, desiring your grace in God's behalf, that ye will remember it. The bishop of Rome had a *scala cali*, but his was a mass matter. This *scala cali* is the true ladder that bringeth a man to heaven, that I now speak of, is the true ladder that bringeth a man to heaven. The top of the ladder, or first greese (step) is this : " Whosoever calleth upon the name of the Lord shall be saved." The second step : " How shall they call upon him, in whom they have not believed ?" The third stair is this : " How shall they believe in him, of whom they never heard ?" The fourth step : " How shall they hear without a preacher ?" Now the nether end of

the ladder is : “ How shall they preach except they be sent ?” This is the foot of the ladder, so that we may go backward now, and use the school argument ; *à primo ad ultimum* ; Take away preaching, take away salvation. But I fear one thing ; and it is, lest for a safety of a little money, you will put in chantry priests to save their pensions. But I will tell you, Christ bought souls with his blood, and will ye sell them for gold or silver ? I would not that ye should do with chantry priests*, as ye did with the abbots, when abbies were put down. For when their enormities were first read in the parliament-house, they were so great and abominable, that there was nothing but down with them. But within a while after, the same abbots were made bishops, as there be some of them yet alive, to save and redeem their pensions. O Lord, think ye that God is a fool, and seeth it not ? And if he see it, will he not punish it ? And so now for safety of money, I would not that ye should put in chantry priests. I speak not now against such chantry priests as are able to preach, but those that are not able. I will not have them put in ; for if ye do this, ye shall answer for it.

It is in the text, that a king ought to fear God, “ he shall have the dread of God before his eyes :” Work not by worldly policy, for worldly policy feareth not God. Take heed of these clawbacks, these venomous people that will come to you, that will follow you like Gnathoes and Parasites ; if you follow them, you are out of your book. If it be not according to God’s word that they counsel you, do it not for any worldly policy ; for then ye fear not God.

It followeth in the text : *Ut non elevetur cor ejus*, “ That he be not proud above his brethren.” A king must not be proud, for God might have made him a shepherd, when he made him a king, and done him no wrong. There be many examples of proud kings in scripture ; as Pharaoh, that would not hear the message of God : Herod also, that put John Baptist to death, and would not hear him ; he told him, that “ it was not lawful for him to marry his brother’s wife :” Jeroboam also was a proud king. Another king there was that worshipped strange

* Chantry priests were, in the time of popery, those who had a settled income, on condition of singing constantly at particular altars, for the souls of the founders.

gods, and idols of those men whom he had overcome before in battle; and when a prophet told him of it, what said he? "Who made you one of my council?" These were proud kings: their examples are not to be followed.

But wherefore shall a king "fear God, and turn neither to the right hand nor to the left?" Wherefore shall he do all this? *ut longo tempore regnet ipse et filii ejus*, "That he may reign long, he and his children." Remember this, I beseech your grace; and when these flatterers, and flibbergibs another day shall come, and claw you by the back, and say, "Sir, trouble not yourself? What should you study? Why should you do this, or that?" Your grace may answer them thus and say: What, sirrah? I perceive you are weary of us and our posterity. Doth not God say in such a place, that a king should write out a book of God's law, and read it, learn to fear God, and why? That he and his might reign long. I perceive now thou art a traitor."

Tell him this tale once, and I warrant you he will come no more to you, neither he, nor any after such a sort.

And thus shall your grace drive these flatterers and claw-backs away. And I am afraid I have troubled you too long: therefore I will furnish the text now with an history or two, and then I will leave you to God. Ye have heard how a king ought to pass the time. He must read the book of God; and it is not enough for him to read, but he must be acquainted with all scripture; he must study, and he must pray: and how shall he do both these?

He may learn of Solomon. God spake unto Solomon when he was made a king, and bad him ask of him what he would, and he should have it. Make thy petition said God, and thou shalt obtain. Now mark Solomon's prayer. *Domine, O Domine Deus*, said he, "O Lord God, it is thou that hast caused me to reign, and hast set me in my father's seat; for thou God only dost make kings." (1 Kings iii.)

Thus should kings praise God and thank God, as Solomon did. But what was his petition? Lord, said he, *Da mihi cor docile*. He asked "a docible heart, a wise heart, and wisdom to go in and to go out:" that is, to begin all mine affairs well, and to bring them to good effect and purpose, that I may learn to guide and govern my people.

When he had made his petition, it pleased God well, that Solomon asked wisdom, and neither riches nor long life ; and therefore God made him this answer : “ Because thou hast chosen wisdom above all things, I will give thee it, and thou shalt be the wisest king that ever was before thee.” And so he was and the wisest in all kinds of knowledge that ever was since. And though he did not ask riches, yet God gave him both riches and honour, more than ever any of his ancestors had. So your grace must learn how to do, of Solomon. Ye must make your petition, now study, now pray.

They must be yoked together ; and this is called pastime with good company.

Now when God had given Solomon wisdom, he sent him by and by occasion to occupy his wit. For God gave never a gift, but he sent occasion at one time or another to shew it to God’s glory. As, if he sent riches, he sendeth poor men to be helped with it. But now must men occupy their goods otherwise. They will not look on the poor, they must help their children, and purchase them more land than ever their grandfathers had before them. But I shall tell you what Christ said ; “ He that loveth his child better than me, is not worthy to be my disciple.” I cannot see how ye shall stand before God at the latter day, when this sentence shall be laid against you.

But to return to my purpose ; there were two poor women came before Solomon to complain. They were two harlots, and dwelled together in one house, and it chanced within two days they childed both. The one of these women by chance in the night, had killed her child, and rose privily and went to the other woman, and took her live child away, and left her dead child in his place. Upon that they came both before Solomon to have the matter judged whose the child was. And the one said, It is my child : Nay saith the other, it is my child : Nay saith the other, it is mine. So there was yea and nay between them, and they held up the matter with scolding after a woman-like fashion. At the length Solomon repeated their tales as a good judge ought to do, and said to the one woman : Thou sayest the child is thine. Yea, said she. And thou sayest it is thine, to the other ; “ Well fetch me a sword,” said he ; for there was no way now to try which was the true mother, but by natural inclination. And so he said to one of his servants : “ Fetch me a

sword, and divide the child between them." When the mother of the child that accused the other heard him say so; "Nay, for God's sake, said she, let her have the whole child, and kill it not." "Nay, quoth the other, neither thine nor mine; but let it be divided." Then said Solomon, "Give this woman the child, this is the mother of the child." What came of this? *Audivit omnes Israel*, "When all Israel heard of this judgment, they feared the king." (1 Kings iii.) It is wisdom and godly knowledge that causeth a king to be feared.

One word note here for God's sake, and I will trouble you no longer. Would Solomon, being so noble a king, hear two poor women? They were poor, for as the scripture saith: They were together alone in a house; they had not so much as one servant between them both. Would King Solomon, I say, hear them in his own person? Yea, forsooth. And yet I hear of many matters before my lord protector, and my lord chancellor that cannot be heard. I must desire my lord protector's grace to hear me in this matter, that your grace would hear poor men's suits yourself. Put them to none other to hear, let them not be delayed. The saying is now, that money is heard every where; if he be rich he shall soon have an end of his matter.

Others are fain to go home with weeping tears, for any help they can obtain at any judge's hand. Hear men's suits yourself, I require you in God's behalf, and put it not to the hearing of these velvet coats, these upskips. Now a man can scarce know them from an ancient knight of the country. I cannot go to my book, for poor folks come unto me, desiring me that I will speak that their matters may be heard. I trouble my lord of Canterbury, and being at his house, now and then I walk in the garden looking in my book, as I can do but little good at it. But something I must needs do to satisfy this place. I am no sooner in the garden and have read awhile, but by and by cometh there some one or other knocking at the gate. Anon cometh my man, and saith: Sir, there is one at the gate would speak with you. When I come there, then is it some one or other that desireth me I will speak that his matter might be heard, and that he hath lain this long at great costs and charges, and cannot once have his matter come to the hearing;

but among all other, one specially moved me at this time to speak. This it is, sir.

A gentlewoman came to me and told me, that a great man keepeth certain lands of hers from her, and will be her tenant in the spite of her teeth; and that in a whole twelvemonth, she could not get but one day for the hearing of her matter; and the same day when the matter should be heard, the great man brought on his side a great sight of lawyers for his counsel, the gentlewoman had but one man of law; and the great man shakes him so, that he cannot tell what to do; so that when the matter came to the point, the judge was a mean to the gentlewoman, that she would let the great man have a quietness in her land.

I beseech your grace that ye will look to these matters. Hear them yourself. View your judges, and hear poor men's causes. And you, proud judges, hearken what God saith in his holy book: *Audite illos, ita parvum ut magnum*. "Hear them, saith he, the small as well as the great, the poor as well as the rich." Regard no person, fear no man; why? *Quia Domini judicium est*, "The judgment is God's." Mark this saying, thou proud judge. The devil will bring this sentence at the day of doom. Hell will be full of these judges, if they repent not and amend. They are worse than the wicked judge that Christ speaketh of, that neither feared God, nor the world.

There was a certain widow that was a suitor to a judge, and she met him in every corner of the street, crying, I pray you hear me, I beseech you hear me, I ask nothing but right. When the judge saw her so importunate, "Though I fear neither God, saith he, nor the world, yet because of her importunateness, I will grant her request." (Luke xviii.) But our judges are worse than this judge was, for they will neither hear men for God's sake, nor fear of the world, nor importunateness, nor any thing else. Yea, some of them will command them to ward, if they be importunate.

I heard say, that when a suitor came to one of them, he said, What fellow is it that giveth these folk counsel to be so importunate? He would be punished and committed to ward. Marry, sir, punish me then; it is even I that gave them counsel, I would gladly be punished in such a cause. And if ye amend

not, I will cause them to cry out upon you still : even as long as I live. I will do it indeed : but I have troubled you long. As I began with this sentence : *Quæcunque scripta sunt*, &c., “ All things that are written, &c.,” So I will end now with this text : *Beati qui audiunt verbum Dei, et custodiunt illud*, “ Blessed are they that hear the word of God, and keep it.” There was another suit, and I had almost forgotten it.

There is a poor woman that lieth in the Fleet, and cannot come, by any means that she can make, to her answer, and would fain be bailed, offering to put in sureties worth a thousand pound ; and yet she cannot be heard. Methink this is a reasonable cause, it is a great pity that such things should so be. I beseech God that he will grant, that all that is amiss may be amended, that we may hear his word and keep it, that we may come to the eternal bliss, to the which bliss I beseech God to bring both you and me. *Amen.*

THE
THIRD SERMON
PREACHED BEFORE KING EDWARD,
MARCH 22d.

ROMANS xv. 4.

Quaecunque scripta sunt ; ad nostram doctrinam scripta sunt.

All things that are written, are written to be our doctrine.

ALL things that be written in God's holy book, the Bible, were written to be our doctrine, long before our time, to serve from time to time, and so forth to the world's end.

Ye shall have in remembrance, most benign and gracious audience, that a preacher hath two offices, and the one to be used orderly after another. The first is, *Exhortari per sanam doctrinam*, "To teach true doctrine." He shall have also occasion oftentimes to use another; and that is, *Contradicentes convincere*, "To reprehend, to convince, to confute gainsayers, and spurners against the truth." Why? you will say, will any body gainsay true doctrine, and sound doctrine? Well, let a preacher be sure that his doctrine be true, and it is not to be thought that any body will gainsay it. If St. Paul had not foreseen that there should be gainsayers, he had not need to have appointed the confutation of gainsaying. Was there ever yet preacher, but there were gainsayers that spurned, that winced, that whimpered against him, that blasphemed, that gainsayed it? When Moses came to Egypt with sound doctrine, he had Pharaoh to gainsay him. Jeremy was the minister of the true word of God, he had gainsayers, the priests and the false prophets. Elias had all Baal's priests, supported by Jezebel, to speak against him. John Baptist, and our Saviour

Jesus Christ, had the Pharisees, the Scribes, and the priests gainsayers to them. The apostles had gainsayers also, for it was said to St. Paul at Rome, *Notum est nobis quod ubique secte huic contradicatur*. "We know that every man doth gainsay this learning." (Acts xxviii.) After the apostle's time the truth was gainsayed with tyrants, as Nero, Maxentius, Domitianus, and such like; and also by the doctrine of wicked heretics. In the popish mass-time, there was no gainsaying, all things seemed to be in peace, in a concord, in a quiet agreement. So long as we had in adoration, in admiration, the popish mass, we were then without gainsaying. What was that? The same that Christ speaketh of, *Cum fortis armatus custodierit atrium, &c.*, "When Satan, the devil, hath the guiding of the house, he keepeth all in peace that is in his possession." When Satan ruleth, and beareth dominion in open religion, as he did with us when we preached pardon matters, purgatory matters, and pilgrimage matters, all was quiet. He is ware enough, he is wily, and circumspect for stirring up any sedition. When he keepeth his territory all is in peace. If there were any man that preached in England in times past, in the Pope's times, as peradventure there was two or three, straitways he was taken and nipped in the head with the title of an heretic. When he hath the religion in possession, he stirreth up no sedition, I warrant you.

How many dissensions have we heard of in Turkey? but a few I warrant you. He busieth himself there with no dissension. For he hath there dominion in the open religion, and needeth not to trouble himself any further. The Jews, like runagates, wheresoever they dwell (for they be dispersed, and be tributaries in all countries where they inhabit) look whether ye hear of any heresies among them? But when *fortis supervenerit*, when one stronger than the devil cometh in place, which is our Saviour Jesus Christ, and revealeth his word, then the devil roareth, then he bestirreth him, then he raiseth diversity of opinions to slander God's word. And if ever concord should have been in religion, when should it have been but when Christ was here? Ye find fault with preachers, and say, they cause sedition. We are noted to be rash, and indiscreet in our preaching. Yet as discreet as Christ was, there

was diversity, yea, what he was himself. For when he asked what men called him, his apostles answered him : " Some say, you are John Baptist, some say you are Elias, and some say, you are one of the prophets;" (Matt. xvi. &c.) and these were they that spake best of him. For some said, he was a Samaritan, that he had a devil within him, a glosser*, a drinker, a pot-companion. There was never prophet to be compared to him, and yet was there never more dissension than when he was, and preached himself. If it were contraried then, will ye think it shall not be contraried now, when charity is so cold and iniquity so strong? Thus these backbiters and slanderers must be convinced. St. Paul said, there shall be *intractabiles*, such as are untoward, that will whimper and whine, there shall be also, *vaniloqui*, vain-speakers. For the which St. Paul appointeth the preacher to stop their mouths, and it is a preacher's office to be a mouth-stopper.

This day I must somewhat do in the second office, I must be a gainsayer, and I must stop their mouths, convince, refel and confute that they speak slanderously of me.

There be some gainsayers, for there be some slanderous people, vain-speakers, and intractabiles, which I must needs speak against. But first I will make a short rehearsal to put you in memory of that that I spake in my last sermon. And that done, I will confute one that slandereth me. For one there is that I must needs answer unto, for he slandereth me for my preaching before the king's majesty. There be some to blame, that when the preacher is weary, yet they will have him speak all at once.

Ye must tarry till ye hear more ; ye must not be offended till ye hear the rest. Hear all, and then judge all. What, ye are very hasty, very quick with your preachers? But before I enter further into this matter, I shall desire you to pray, &c.

First of all, as touching my first sermon, I will run it over cursorily, ripping a little the matter. I brought in a history of the bible, exciting my audience to beware of by-walkings, to walk ordinately, plainly, the king's highway, and agree to that

* Glosser, or glouser, a flatterer, deceiver, or one who ministers for selfish purposes to the vices of others.

which standeth with the order of a realm. I shewed you how we were under the blessing of God, for our king is *nobilis* I shewed you we have a noble king, true inheritor to the crown without doubt. I shewed furthermore of his godly education. He hath such schoolmasters, as cannot be gotten in all the realm again.

Wherefore we may be sure that God blessed this realm, although he cursed the realm whose ruler is a child, under whom the officers be climbing, and gleaning, stirring, scratching and scraping, and voluptuously set on banqueting, and for the maintenance of their voluptuousness go by-walks. And although he be young, he hath as good, and as sage a council as ever was in England; which we may well know by their godly proceedings, and setting forth the word of God. Therefore let us not be worse than the stiff-necked Jews. In king Josiah's time, who being young, did alter, change, and correct wonderfully the religion, it was never heard in Jewry, that the people repined or said, "The king is a child: this gear will not last long: It is but one or two men's doings; it will not but for a time; the king knoweth it not." Wo worth that ever such men were born. Take heed lest for our rebellion God take his blessing away from us. I entered into the place of the king's pastime, I told you how he must pass his time in reading the book of God, (for that is the king's pastime by God's appointment,) in the which book he shall learn to fear God. Oh how careful God is to set in an order all things that belong to a king, in his chamber, in his stable, in his treasure-house!

These peevish people in this realm have nothing but the king, the king, in their mouths, when it maketh for their purpose. As there was a doctor that preached, the king's majesty hath his holy water, he creepeth to the cross, and then they have nothing but the king, the king in their mouths. These be my good people that must have their mouths stopped: but if a man tell them of the king's proceedings, now they have their shifts and their put-offs, saying, We may not go before a law, we may break no order. These be the wicked preachers, their mouths must be stopped, these be the gainsayers.

Another thing there is that I told you of, *Ne elevetur cor*

regis, &c., "The king must not be proud over his brethren." He must order his people with brotherly love and charity. Here I brought in examples of proud kings. It is a great pride in kings and magistrates, when they will not hear, nor be conformable to the sound doctrine of God. It is another kind of pride in kings, when they think themselves so high, so lofty, that they disdain, and think it not for their honour, to hear poor men's causes themselves. They have drawbacks that say unto them, "What, Sir? what need you to trouble yourself? Take you your pleasure, hunt, hawk, dance, and dally, let us alone; we will govern and order the commonweal matters well enough." Wo worth them, they have been the root of all mischief and destruction in this realm.

A king ought not only for to read and study, but also to pray. Let him borrow example of Solomon, who pleased God highly with his petition, desiring no worldly things but wisdom, which God did not only grant him, but because he asked wisdom, he gave him many more things; as riches, honour, and such like. Oh! how it pleased God that he asked wisdom! And after he had given him this wisdom, he sent him also occasion to use the same by a couple of strumpets. Here I told an example of a meek king, who so continued, until he came into the company of strange women. He heard them not by means, or by any other, but in his own person: and I think verily the natural mother had never had her own child, if he had not heard the cause himself. They were *meretrices*, whores; although some excuse the matter, and say they were but tipplers, such as keep alehouses. But it is but folly to excuse them, seeing the Jews were such, and not unlike, but they had their stews, and the maintenance of whoredom, as they had of other vices.

One thing I must here desire you to reform, my lords: you have put down the stews*: but I pray you what is the

* These stews were all on the Bank-side in Southwark; and in those days, no brothel was suffered to be kept in the city. But these public stews were suppressed by Henry the eighth, in the thirty-seventh of his reign, and the year following, the Pope's legate, preaching at Paul's Cross before the parliament, lord mayor, and citizens, said, "Ye have taken away the stews, and ye have made one great stew of the city of London."

matter amended? what availeth that? ye have but changed the place, and not taken the whoredom away. God should be honoured every where; for the scripture saith *Domini est terra et plenitudo ejus*, "The earth and the land is the Lord's." What place should be then within a Christian realm left for to dishonour God? I must needs show you such news as I hear: for though I see it not myself, notwithstanding, it cometh faster to me than I would wish. I do as St. Paul doth to the Corinthians: *Auditur intervus stuprum*, "There is such a whoredom among you as is not among the Gentiles." So likewise *auditur*, I hear say that there is such whoredom in England as never was seen the like. He charged all the Corinthians for one man's offence, saying they were all guilty for one man's sin, if they would not correct and redress it, but wink at it. Lo, here may you see how that one man's sin polluted all Corinth. "A little leaven, as St Paul saith, corrupteth a great deal of dough." This is, *Communicare alienis peccatis*, "To be partaker of other men's sins." I advertise you in God's name look to it. I hear say there is now more whoredom in London than ever there was on the Bank. These be the news I have to tell you: I fear they be true. Ye ought to hear of it, and redress it. I hear of it, and as St. Paul saith, *Aliqua ex parte credo*. There is more open whoredom, more stewed whoredom than ever was before. For God's sake let it be looked upon, it is your office to see unto it. Now to my confutation.

There is a certain man, that shortly after my first sermon, being asked if he had been at the sermon that day, answered, Yea. "I pray you," said he, "how liked you him?" "Marry," said he, "even as I liked him always; a seditious fellow." Oh Lord, he pinched me there indeed; nay, he had rather a full bite at me. Yet I comfort myself with that, that Christ himself was noted to be a stirrer up of the people against the emperor, and was contented to be called seditious. It becometh me to take it in good worth; I am not better than he was. In the king's days that dead is, a many of us were called together before him to say our minds in certain matters. In the end, one kneeleth me down, and accuseth me of sedition that I had preached seditious doctrine. A heavy salutation,

and a hard point of such a man's doing, as if I should name him, ye would not think it.

The king turned to me and said, "What say you to that, sir?" Then I kneeled down, and turned me first to mine accuser, and required him: "Sir, what form of preaching would you appoint me to preach before a king? Would you have me for to preach nothing as concerning a king in the king's sermon? Have you any commission to appoint me what I shall preach?" Besides this, I asked him divers other questions, and he would make no answer to none of them all: he had nothing to say. Then I turned me to the king, and submitted myself to his grace, and said, "I never thought myself worthy, nor I never sued to be a preacher before your grace, but I was called to it, and would be willing, if you mislike me, to give place to my betters; for I grant there be a great many more worthy of the room than I am. And if it be your grace's pleasure so to allow them for preachers, I could be content to bear their books after them. But if your grace allow me for a preacher, I would desire your grace to give me leave to discharge my conscience; give me leave to frame my doctrine according to mine audience: I had been a very dolt to have preached so, at the borders of your realm, as I preach before your grace."

And I thank almighty God, which hath always been my remedy, that my sayings were well accepted of the king, for like a gracious lord he turned into another communication. It is even as the scripture saith, *Cor regis in manu Domini*, "The Lord directed the king's heart." Certain of my friends came to me with tears in their eyes, and told me they looked I should have been in the tower the same night. Thus have I evermore been burdened with the word of sedition. I have offended God grievously, transgressing his law, and but for this remedy and his mercy, I would not look to be saved; as for sedition, for ought that I know, methinks, I should not need Christ, if I might so say: but if I be clear in any thing, I am clear in this. So far as I know mine own heart, there is no man further from sedition than I, which I have declared in all my doings, and yet it hath ever been laid to me.

Another time, when I gave over mine office, I should have

received a certain duty that they call a Pentecostal *, it came to the sum of fifty and five pound : I set my commissary to gather it, but he could not be suffered, for it was said a sedition should rise upon it.

Thus they burdened me ever with sedition. So this gentleman cometh up now with sedition. And wot ye what? I chanced in my last sermon to speak a merry word of the new shilling, to refresh my auditory, how I was like to put away my new shilling for an old groat. I was herein noted to speak seditiously. Yet I comfort myself in one thing, that I am not alone, and that I have a fellow ; for it is *consolatio miserorum*. It is comfort of the wretched to have company.

When I was in trouble, it was objected and said unto me, that I was singular, that no man thought as I thought ; that I loved a singularity in all that I did ; and that I took a way contrary to the king and the whole parliament : and that I was travailed with them that had better wits than I, and that I was contrary to them all.

Marry, Sir, these were sore thunderbolts. I thought it an irksome thing to be alone, and to have no fellow. I thought it was possible it might not be true that they told me. In the seventh of John, the priests sent out certain of the Jews, to bring Christ unto them violently. When they came into the temple and heard him preach, they were so moved with his preaching, that they returned home again, and said to them that sent them, *Nunquam sic locutus est homo ut hic homo*, " There was never man spake like this man." Then answered the Pharisees, *Num et vos seducit estis?* What, ye brain-sick fools, ye hoddy-pecks, ye doddy-pouls, ye huddes, do ye believe him? are you seduced also? *Nunquis ex principibus credit in eum?* Did ye see any great man, or any great officer take his part? Do ye see any body follow him, but beggarly fishers, and such as have nothing to take to? *Nunquis ex Pharisæis?* Do ye see any holy man, any perfect man, any learned man, take his part? *Turba quæ ignorat legem execrabilis est.* This lay people is accursed, it is they that know not the law that take his part, and none else.

* An offering made at Whitsuntide, by the churches or parishes in every diocese to the cathedral. It was collected by the bishop's commissary, and succeeded the payment of Peter-pence to the Pope

Lo here the Pharisees had nothing to choke the people withal, but ignorance. They did as our bishops of England, who upbraided the people always with ignorance, where they were the cause of it themselves. There were, saith St. John, *Multi ex principibus qui crediderunt in eum*, "Many of the chief men believed in him," and that was contrary to the Pharisees' saying: Oh then belike they belied him, he was not alone. So thought I, there be more of mine opinion than I thought, I was not alone. I have now gotten one fellow more, a companion of sedition, and wot ye who is my fellow? Isaiah the prophet. I spake but of a little pretty shilling, but he speaketh to Jerusalem after another sort, and was so bold to meddle with their coin. "Thou proud, thou covetous, thou haughty city of Jerusalem: *Argentum tuum versum est in scoriā*. Thy silver is turned into, "what?" Into testions*? *Scoriā*. Into dross.

Ah, seditious wretch, what had he to do with the mint? Why should not he have left that matter to some master of policy to reprove? "Thy silver is dross;" it is not fine, it is counterfeit, thy silver is turned; thou hadst good silver. What pertained that to Isaiah? Marry, he espied a piece of divinity in that policy, he threateneth them God's vengeance for it.

He went to the root of the matter, which was covetousness. He espied two points in it, that either it came of covetousness, which became him to reprove: or else that it tended to the hurt of the poor people; for the naughtiness of the silver, was the occasion of dearth of all things in the realm. He imputeth it to them as a great crime. He may be called a master of sedition indeed. Was not this a seditious varlet, to tell them this to their beards, to their face?

This seditious man goeth also forth, saying, *Vinum tuum mixtum est aqua*, "Thy wine is mingled with water." Here he meddled with vintners: belike there were brewers in those days, as there be now. It had been good for our missal priests to have dwelled in that country, for they might have been sure to have their wine well mingled with water. I re-

* An old silver coin among the French, of the value of eighteen-pence, but in the time of King Henry the Eighth, being made of brass, it was reduced to twelve pence; under Edward the Sixth, to nine-pence, and afterwards to six-pence.

member how scrupulous I was in my time of blindness and ignorance; when I should say mass, I have put in water twice or thrice for failing; insomuch when I have been at my memento, I have had a grudge in my conscience, fearing that I had not put in water enough. And that which is here spoken of wine, he meaneth it of all arts in the city, of all kinds of faculties; for they have all their medleys and minglings. That he speaketh of one thing, he meaneth generally of all. I must tell you more news yet.

I hear say, there is a certain cunning come up in mixing of wares. How say you, were it no wonder to hear that cloth-makers should become poticaries? yea, and as I hear say, in such a place, whereas they have professed the gospel and the word of God most earnestly of a long time? See how busy the devil is to slander the word of God. Thus the poor gospel goeth to wreck.

If his cloth be eighteen yards long, he will set him on a rack, and stretch him out with ropes, and rack him till the sinews shrink again, while he hath brought him to twenty-seven yards. When they have brought him to that perfection, they have a pretty feat to thicken him again. He makes me a powder for it, and plays the poticary; they call it flock-powder; they do so incorporate it to the cloth, that it is wonderful to consider: truly a goodly invention. Oh that so goodly wits should be so ill applied; they may well deceive the people, but they cannot deceive God. They were wont to make beds of flocks, and it was a good bed too. Now they have turned their flocks into powder, to play the false thieves with it. O wicked devil, what can he not invent to blaspheme God's word? These mixtures come of covetousness. They are plain theft. Wo worth that these flocks should so slander the word of God; as he said to the Jews, "Thy wine is mingled with water," so might he have said to us of this land, thy cloth is mingled with flock-powder. He goeth yet on.

This seditious man reproveth this honourable city, and saith, *Principes tui infideles*. "Thou land of Jerusalem, thy magistrates, thy judges are unfaithful;" they keep no touch, they will talk of many gay things, they will pretend this and that, but they keep no promise. They be worse than unfaithful." He was not afraid to call the officers

nufaitful, *Et socii furum*; and "Fellows of thieves:" for thieves and thieves fellows be all of one sort. They were wont to say, Ask my fellow if I be a thief. He calleth princes thieves? What? princes thieves? What a seditious harlot* was this? Was he worthy to live in a commonwealth, that would call princes on this wise, fellows of thieves? Had they a standing at Shooters-hill, or Standgate-hole, to take a purse? Why? did they stand by the highway side? Did they rob, or break open any man's house or door? No, no; that is a gross kind of thieving. They were princes, they had a prince-like kind of thieving, *Omnes diligunt munera*. "They all love bribes." Bribery is a princely kind of thieving. They will be waged by the rich, either to give sentence against the poor: or to put off the poor man's causes. This is the noble theft of princes and of magistrates. They are bribe-takers. Now-a-days they call them gentle rewards: let them leave their colouring, and call them by their Christian name, bribes: *Omnes diligunt munera*. "All the princes, all the judges, all the priests, all the rulers, are bribers." What? were all the magistrates in Jerusalem, all bribe-takers? None good? No doubt there were some good.

This word *omnes*, signifieth the most part, and so there be some good I doubt not of it in England. But yet we be far worse than those stiff-necked Jews. For we read of none of them that winced nor kicked against Isaiah's preaching, or said that he was a seditious fellow. It behoveth the magistrates to be in credit, and therefore it might seem that Isaiah was to blame to speak openly against the magistrates. It is very sure that they that be good, will bear, and not spurn at the preachers: they that be faulty they must amend, and neither spurn, nor wince, nor whine. He that findeth himself touched or galled, he declareth himself not to be upright, Wo worth these gifts, they subvert justice every where. *Sequuntur retributiones*. "They follow bribes." Somewhat was given to them before, and they must needs give somewhat again: for Giffe-gaffe was a good fellow, this Giffe-gaffe† led them clean from justice. "They follow gifts."

A good fellow on a time bad another of his friends to a breakfast, and said, If you will come, you shall be welcome;

* The word harlot was then common for a vile person of either sex.

† An old jingle for bribery, a gift for gift; or one good turn for another.

but I tell you aforehand, you shall have but slender fare, one dish and that is all. What is that, said he? A pudding, and nothing else. Marry, said he, you cannot please me better; of all meats, that is for mine own tooth; you may draw me round about the town with a pudding. These bribing magistrates and judges follow gifts faster than the fellow would follow the pudding.

I am content to bear the title of sedition with Isaiah: thanks be to God, I am not alone, I am in no singularity. This same man that laid sedition thus to my charge was asked another time whether he were at the sermon at Paul's cross: he answered that he was there: and being asked what news there; Marry, quoth he, wonderful news, we were there clean absolved, my mule and all had full absolution. Ye may see by this, that he was such a one as rode on a mule, and that he was a gentleman. Indeed his mule was wiser than he; for I dare say the mule never slandered the preacher. O what an unhappy chance had this mule, to carry such an ass upon his back. I was there at the sermon myself: In the end of his sermon he gave a general absolution, and as far as I remember, these or such other like words, but at the least I am sure this was his meaning; "As many as do acknowledge yourselves to be sinners, and confess the same, and stand not in defence of it, and heartily abhorreth it; and will believe in the death of Christ, and be conformable thereunto, *Ego absolvo vos*, quoth he." Now saith this gentleman, his mule was absolved. The preacher absolved but such as were sorry and did repent. Belike then she did repent her stumbling; his mule was wiser than he a great deal. I speak not of worldly wisdom, for therein he is too wise, yea, he is so wise, that wise men marvel, how he came truly by the tenth part of that he hath; but in wisdom which consisteth *In rebus Dei, in rebus salutis*, in godly matters, and appertaining to our salvation, in this wisdom he is as blind as a beetle: *Tanquam equus et mulus in quibus non est intellectus*. "Like horses and mules, that have no understanding." If it were true that the mule repented her of her stumbling, I think she was better absolved than he. I pray God stop his mouth, or else to open it to speak better, and more to his glory.

Another man quickened with a word I spake, as he said,

opprobriously against the nobility, that their children did not set forth God's word, but were unpreaching prelates; was offended with me. I did not mean so; but that some noble-men's children had set forth God's word, howbeit the poor men's sons have done it always for the most part. *Johannes Alasco** was here, a great learned man, and as they say, a nobleman in his country, and is gone his way again: if it be for lack of entertainment, the more pity.

I would wish such men as he to be in the realm, for the realm should prosper in receiving of them, *Qui vos recipit me recipit*, "Who receiveth you, receiveth me," saith Christ; and it should be for the king's honour to receive them and keep them. I heard say Master Melancthon†, that great clerk, should come hither.—I would wish him, and such as he is, to have two hundred pound a year: the king should never want it in his coffers at the year's end. There is yet among us two great learned men, Peter Martyr‡, and

* John Alasco, the Polish reformer, was born of a noble family many of whom filled high offices in church and state. He received a very liberal education, after which he travelled into Germany, where he embraced the reformed doctrines. At Basil he contracted an intimacy with Erasmus, who recommended him to Cardinal Pole. In 1542 he undertook the ministerial office at Embden, but in 1548 accepted an invitation from archbishop Cranmer, by whose interest he obtained the dissolved convent of the Augustine friars in London where he gathered a German congregation. On the accession of Mary, he was ordered out of the kingdom; and returned to Embden, from whence he removed to Frankfort on the Maine. Being a Zuinglian, he incurred the enmity of the rigid Lutherans, in consequence of which he went to Poland, and for some time was employed in public affairs; but the machinations of the Romish clergy obliged him to return to Frankfort, where he died January 18, 1560.

† Philip Melancthon, the most learned and moderate of all the reformers, was invited to England, in 1534, by Henry the Eighth, and he would then have complied, agreeably to the advice of the elector of Saxony and Luther, had it not been for the tragical end of Anne Boleyn, the news of which altered his resolution. Henry repeated the invitation in 1538, with some flattering compliments to the great learning and sound judgment of Melancthon; but the German divine still declined the honour, and even in the next reign, when he could have no reasonable objections to a settlement in England, he hesitated till the death of that excellent young monarch put an end to the design altogether, though the divinity professorship at Cambridge had been kept vacant on purpose for him.

‡ Peter Martyr, or Vermilius, was born of a distinguished family at Florence, in 1500. He became an Augustine monk, and was so celebrated as a preacher, that he obtained the abbey of Spoleto, from whence he removed to Naples, where the writings of Zuinglius and Bucer effected a change in his religious

Bernard Ochinus*, which have a hundred marks apiece: I would the king would bestow a thousand pound on that sort.

Now I will to my place again. In the latter end of my sermon, I exhorted judges to hear the small as well as the great; *Juste quod justum est judicare*, "You must not only do justice, but do it justly:" you must observe all circumstances: you must give justice, and minister just judgment in time; for the delaying of matters of the poor folk, is as sinful before the face of God, as wrong judgment.

I rehearsed here a parable of a wicked judge, which for importunity's sake, heard the poor woman's cause, &c.

Here is a comfortable place for all you that cry out, and are oppressed. For you have not a wicked judge, but a merciful judge to call unto. I am not now so full of foolish pity, but I can consider well enough, that some of you complain without a cause.

They weep, they wail, they mourn, I am sure some not without a cause: I did not here reprove all judges, and find fault with all. I think we have some as painful magistrates as ever was in England; but I will not swear they be all so: and they that be not of the best, must be content to be taught, and not disdain to be reprehended. David saith, *Erudimini qui judicatis terram*, I refer it to your conscience: *Vos qui judicatis terram*, "Ye that be judges on the earth," whether ye have heard poor men's causes with expedition or no: If ye have not, then *erudimini*, be content to be touched, to be told. You widows, you orphans, you poor people, here is a comfortable place for you. Though these judges of the world

sentiments. He had the courage to preach against the errors of popery even at Rome, but was soon obliged to quit Italy for Germany, from whence he came to England, and in 1549, was made professor of divinity at Oxford. On the accession of Mary, he went to Strasburgh, next to Geneva, and afterwards to Zurich, where he died in 1562.

* Bernardin Ochirrus, an Italian monk, of the order of Capuchins, after having acquired a great reputation as a preacher, embraced the reformed doctrines by the instrumentality of Peter Martyr, in 1542. He then went to Geneva, next to Augsburg, and in 1547, visited England by the invitation of Cranmer, with whom he resided for some time at Lambeth, and was made by him prebendary of Canterbury. On the death of Edward VI. he went to Strasburgh, and next to Zurich, where he became minister of an Italian church. In 1563, he was banished from Zurich on a charge of Socinianism, in consequence of which he removed to Poland, but was expelled thence, and died at Slacow, in 1564, aged seventy-seven.

will not hear you, there is one will be content with your importunity, he will remedy you, if you come after a right sort unto him. Ye say the judge doth blame you for your importunity, it is irksome unto him. He entered into this parable to teach you to be importune in your petition; *non defatigari*: "not to be weary." Here he teacheth you how to come to God in adversity, and by what means, which is by prayer. I do not speak of the merit of Christ, for he saith, *Ego sum via*, "I am the way." *Qui credit in me, habet vitam æternam*, "Whoso believeth in me hath everlasting life." But when we are come to Christ, what is our way to remedy adversity, in anguish, in tribulations, in our necessities, in our injuries? The way is prayer. We are taught by the commandment of God, *Invoca me in die tribulationis, et ego eripiam te*. Thou widow, thou orphan, thou fatherless child, I speak to thee, that hast no friends to help thee, call upon me in the day of thy tribulation, call upon me; *Ego eripiam te*, I will pluck thee away, I will deliver thee, I will take thee away, I will relieve thee, thou shalt have thy heart's desire.

Here is he promise, here is the comfort: *Glorificabis me*, "Thou shalt glorify me." Thank me, accept me for the author of it, and thank not this creature or that for it. Here is the judge of all judges; come unto me, and he will hear you: for he saith, *Quicquid petieritis Patrem, in nomine meo, &c.*, "Whatsoever ye ask my Father in my name, shall be given you through my merits." "You miserable people, that are wronged in the world, ask of my Father in your distresses; but put me afore, look you come not with brags of your own merits, but come in my name, and by my merit." He hath not the property of this stout judge, he will bear your importunateness, he will not be angry at your crying and calling. The prophet saith, *Speraverunt in te patres nostri, et exaudivisti illos*, "Thou God, thou God, our fathers did cry unto thee, and thou heardest them. Art not thou our God as well as theirs?" There is nothing more pleasant to God, than for to put him in remembrance of his goodness shewed unto our forefathers. It is a pleasant thing to tell God of the benefits that he hath done before our time. Go to Moses, who had the guiding of God's people, see how he used prayer as an instrument to be delivered out of adversity, when he had great rough mountains

on every side of him, and before him the Red Sea, Pharaoh's host behind him, peril of death round about him. What did he? despaired he? No. Whither went he? He repaired to God with his prayer, and said nothing. Yet with a great ardency of spirit, he pierced God's ear. "Now help, or never, good Lord; no help but in thy hand," quoth he.

Though he never moved his lips, yet the scripture saith he cried out, and the Lord heard him, and said, *Quid clamas ad me*, "Why criest thou out so loud?" The people heard him say nothing, and yet God said, why criest thou out? Straightways he struck the water with his rod, and divided it, and it stood up like two walls, on either side, between the which God's people passed; and the persecutors were drowned. (Exod. xiv.)

Joshua was in anguish and like distress at Jericho, that true captain, that faithful judge: no follower of retributions, no bribe-taker, he was no money man: who made his petition to almighty God, to shew him the cause of his wrath toward him, when his army was plagued after the taking of Jericho. So he obtained his prayer, and learned that for one man's fault all the rest were punished. For Achan's covetousness, many a thousand were in agony, and fear of death; who hid his money as he thought from God. But God saw it well enough, and brought it to light. This Achan was a by-walker. Well it came to pass when Joshua knew it, straightways he purged the army and took away *malum de Israel*, that is, wickedness from the people. For Joshua called him before the people, and said, *Da gloriam Deo*, "Give praise to God," tell truth, man: and forthwith he told it: and then he and all his house suffered death. A goodly ensample for all magistrates to follow. Here was the execution of a true judge, he was no gift-taker, he was no winker, he was no by-walker. Also when the Assyrians with an innumerable power of men in Jehoshaphat's time overflowed the land of Israel; Jehoshaphat, that good king, goeth me straight to God, and made his prayer, *Non est in nostra fortitudine* (said he) *huic populo resistere*, "It is not in our strength, O Lord, to resist this people." And after his prayer God delivered him, and at the same time ten thousand were destroyed. So, ye miserable people; you must go to God in anguishes, and make your prayer to him.

Arm yourselves with prayer in your adversities. Many

begin to pray, and suddenly cast away prayer; the devil putteth such phantasies in their heads, as though God would not listen to them, or had somewhat else to do.

But you must be importune, and not weary, nor cast away prayer: Nay you must cast away sin, God will hear your prayer, albeit you be sinners. I send you to a judge that will be glad to hear you. You that are oppressed, I speak to you. Christ in this parable doth paint the good-will of God toward you, Oh miserable people, he that is not received, let him not despair, nor think that God hath forsaken him: for God tarrieth till he seeth a time, and better can do all things for us, than we ourselves can wish.

“There was a wicked judge,” &c. What meaneth it that God borroweth this parable rather of a wicked judge, than of a good? Belike good judges were rare at that time, and trow ye the devil hath been asleep ever since? No, no: he is as busy as ever he was. The common manner of a wicked judge is, neither to fear God nor man. He considereth what a man he is, and therefore he careth not for man, because of his pride. He looketh high over the poor; he will be had in admiration; in adoration; he seemeth to be in a protection. Well, shall he escape? No, no; *Est Deus in calo*, “There is a God in heaven,” he accepteth no persons, he will punish them. There was a poor woman came to this judge, and said, *Vindica me de adversario*, “See that mine adversary do me no wrong.” He would not hear her, but drove her off. She had no money to wage either him, either them that were about him. Did this woman well to be avenged of her adversary? may Christian people seek vengeance? The Lord saith, *Mihi vindictam et ego retribuam*. “When ye revenge, ye take mine office upon you.” This is to be understood of private vengeance. It is lawful for God’s flock to use means to put away wrongs, to resort to judges, to require to have sentence given of right. St. Paul sent to Lysias the tribune, (Acts xxii.) to have this ordinary remedy: and Christ also said, *Si male locutus sum*, &c., “If I have spoken evil, rebuke me.” (Matt. xxvi.) Christ here answered for himself. Note here, my lords and masters, what case poor widows and orphans be in. I will tell you, my lord judges, if ye consider this matter well,

ye should be more afraid of the poor widow, than of a nobleman, with all the friends and power that he can make.

But now-a-days. the judges be afraid to hear a poor man against the rich, insomuch they will either pronounce against him, or so drive off the poor man's suit, that he shall not be able to go through with it. The greatest man in a realm, cannot so hurt a judge as the poor widow; such a shrewd turn she can do him. And with what armour I pray you? She can bring the judge's skin over his ears, and never lay hands upon him.

And how is that? *Lachrymæ miserorum descendunt ad maxillas*, "The tears of the poor fall down upon their cheeks," *et ascendunt ad calum*, "and go up to heaven," and cry for vengeance, before God, the judge of widows, the father of widows and orphans. Poor people be oppressed even by laws. *Væ iis qui condunt leges iniquas*, "Wo worth to them that make evil laws against the poor! what shall be to them that hinder and mar good laws?" *Quid facietis in die ultionis*, "What will ye do in the day of great vengeance, when God shall visit you?" He saith, he will hear the tears of poor women when he goeth on visitation. For their sake he will hurt the judge, be he never so high. *Deus transfert regna*. He will, for widows' sakes change realms, bring them into temptation, pluck the judges' skins over their heads.

Cambyse^{*} was a great emperor, such another as our master is, he had many lord deputies, lord presidents, and lieutenants under him. It is a great while ago since I read the history. It chanced he had under him in one of his dominions, a briber, a gift-taker, a gratifier of rich men, he followed gifts as fast as he that followed the pudding, a hand-maker in his office, to make his son a great man; as the old saying is, Happy is the child, whose father goeth to the devil. The cry of the poor widow came to the emperor's ear, and caused him to flay the judge quick, and laid his skin in his chair of judgment, that all judges that should give judgment afterward, should sit in the

* Cambyse, king of Persia, succeeded his father, in the year of the world, 3506. The only act of his life that does credit to his memory was that of punishing the unjust judge Sisamnes, in the manner here described, and placing his son Otanes upon the tribunal, with a warning that if he followed his father's example, he should experience the same judgment.

same skin. Surely it was a goodly sign, a goodly monument, the sign of the judge's skin: I pray God we may once see the sign of the skin in England.

Ye will say peradventure, that this is cruelly and uncharitably spoken: No, no; I do it charitably, for a love I bear my country. God saith, *Ego visitabo*, "I will visit." God hath two visitations: the first is, when he revealeth his word by preachers, and where the first is accepted the second cometh not. The second visitation is vengeance. He went a visitation when he brought the judge's skin over his ears. If his word be despised he cometh with his second visitation with vengeance.

Noah preached God's word a hundred years, and was laughed to scorn, and called an old doting fool. Because they would not accept this first visitation, God visited them the second time, he poured down showers of rain, till all the world was drowned. Lot was a visitor of Sodom and Gomorrah; but because they regarded not his preaching, God visited them the second time and burnt them all up with brimstone, saving Lot. Moses came first a visitation into Egypt with God's word, and because they would not hear him, God visited them again, and drowned them in the Red Sea. God likewise with his first visitation, visited the Israelites by his prophets, but because they would not hear his prophets, he visited them the second time, and dispersed them in Assyria and Babylon. John Baptist likewise, and our Saviour Christ visited them afterward, declaring to them God's will; and because they despised these visitors, he destroyed Jerusalem by Titus and Vespasian. Germany was visited twenty years with God's word, but they did not earnestly embrace it, and in life follow it, but made a mingle mangle, and a hotch-potch of it: I cannot tell what, partly popery, partly true religion, mingled together. They say in my country, when they call their hogs to the swine-trough: Come to thy mingle-mangle, come pur, come pur: even so they made mingle mangle of it. They could clatter and prate of the gospel, but when all cometh to all, they joined popery so with it, that they marred all together: they scratched and scraped all the livings of the church, and under a colour of religion, turned it to their own proper gain and lucre. God seeing that they would not come unto his word, now he visiteth them in the second time of his visitation,

with his wrath: for the taking away of God's word, is a manifest token of his wrath.

We have now a first visitation in England, let us beware of the second. We have the ministration of his word; we are yet well: but the house is not clean swept yet. God hath sent us a noble king in this his visitation; let us not provoke him against us; let us beware, let us not displease him, let us not be unthankful and unkind, let us beware of by-walking and contemning of God's word, let us pray diligently for our king, let us receive with all obedience and prayer the word of God.

A word or two more, and I commit you to God. I will monish you of a thing; I hear say ye walk inordinately, ye talk unseemly, otherwise than it becometh Christian subjects: ye take upon you to judge the judgments of judges.

I will not make the king a pope; for the pope will have all things that he doth taken for an article of our faith. I will not say but that the king and his council may err; the parliament houses, both the high and low, may err; I pray daily that they may not err.

It becometh us, whatsoever they decree, to stand unto it, and receive it obediently, as far forth as it is not manifest wicked, and directly against the word of God. It pertaineth unto us to think the best, though we cannot render a cause for the doing of every thing; for, *Charitas omnia credit, omnia sperat*, "Charity doth believe and trust all things." We ought to expound to the best all things, although we cannot yield a reason.

Therefore I exhort you, good people, pronounce in good part, all the facts and deeds of the magistrates and judges. Charity judgeth the best of all men, and specially of magistrates. St. Paul saith, *Nolite judicare ante tempus donec Dominus advenierit*, "Judge not before the time of the Lord's coming." *Pravum cor hominis*, Man's heart is unsearchable; it is a ragged piece of work; no man knoweth his own heart; and therefore David prayeth, and saith, *Ab occultis meis munda me*, "Deliver me from my unknown faults: I am a further offender than I can see." (Ps. xix.) A man shall be blinded in love of himself, and cannot see so much in himself as in other men. Let us not therefore judge judges; we are accountable to God, and so be they: let them alone, they have their accounts to

make. If we have charity in us, we shall do this; for, *Charitas operatur*, "Charity worketh," what worketh it? marry, *omnia credere, omnia sperare*, "to accept all things in good part." *Nolite judicare ante tempus*, "Judge not before the Lord's coming." In this we learn to know Antichrist, which doth elevate himself in the church, and judgeth at his pleasure before the time. His canonizations, and judging of men before the Lord's judgment, be a manifest token of Antichrist. How can he know saints? he knoweth not his own heart. And he cannot know them by miracles, for some miracle-workers shall go to the devil.

I will tell you what I remembered yester-night in my bed; a marvellous tale to perceive how inscrutable a man's heart is. I was once at Oxford, (for I had occasion to come that way, when I was in my office;) they told me it was a gainer way, and a fairer way, and by that occasion I lay there a night. Being there I heard of an execution that was done upon one that suffered for treason: It was, as ye know, a dangerous world, for it might soon cost a man his life for a word speaking. I cannot tell what the matter was, but the judge set it so out that the man was condemned, the twelve men came in and said, Guilty; and upon that he was judged to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. When the rope was about his neck, no man could persuade him that he was in any fault; and stood there a great while in the protestation of his innocency: They hanged him, and cut him down somewhat too soon, afore he was clean dead; then they drew him to the fire, and he revived; and then he coming to his remembrance, confessed his fault, and said he was guilty. O, a wonderful example; it may well be said, *Pravum cor hominis et inscrutabile*, "A crabbed piece of work, and unsearchable."

I will leave here, for I think you know what I mean well enough. I shall not need to apply this example any further. As I began ever with this saying, *Quæcunque scripta sunt*, like a truant, so I have a common-place to the end, if my memory fail not, *Beati qui audiunt verbum Dei, et custodiunt illud*, "Blessed be they that hear the word of God, and keep it." it must be kept in memory, in living, and in our conversation: and if we so do, we shall come to the blessedness which God prepared for us through his son Jesus Christ, to the which may he bring us all.—*Amen*.

THE
FOURTH SERMON
PREACHED BEFORE KING EDWARD,
MARCH 29th

ROMANS xv. 4.

Quæcunque scripta sunt ; ad nostram doctrinam, &c.

All things that are written, are written to be our doctrine.

THE parable that I took to begin with, most honourable audience, is written in the eighteenth chapter of St. Luke ; and there is a certain remnant of it behind yet. The parable is this, “ There was a certain judge in a city that feared neither God nor man : And in the same city there was a widow that required justice at his hands ; but he would not hear her, but put her off, and delayed the matter. In process the judge, seeing her importunity, said, Though I fear neither God nor man, yet for the importunity of the woman I will hear her ; lest she rail upon me, and molest me with exclamations and outcries, I will hear her matter, I will make an end of it.”—Our Saviour Christ added more unto this, and said, *Audite, quid judex dicat, &c.* “ Hear you,” said Christ, “ what the wicked judge said ? And shall not God revenge his elect, that cry upon him day and night ? Although he tarry, and defer them, I say unto you, he will revenge them, and that shortly. But when the Son of Man shall come, shall he find faith in the earth ?”

That I may have grace so to open the remnant of this parable, that it may be to the glory of God, and edifying of your souls, I shall desire you to pray, in the which prayer, &c.

I shewed you the last day, most honourable audience, the cause why our Saviour Christ rather used the example of a wicked judge, than of a good. And the cause was, for that in those days there was great plenty of wicked judges, so that he might borrow an example among them well enough ; for there was much scarcity of good judges. I did excuse the widow also, for coming to the judge against her adversary ; because she did it not of malice, she did it not for appetite of

vengeance. And I told you that it was good and lawful for honest, virtuous folk, for God's people, to use the laws of the realm, as an ordinary help against their adversaries, and ought to take them as God's holy ordinances, for the remedies of their injuries and wrongs, when they are distressed: so that they do it charitably, lovingly, not of malice, not vengeably, not covetously. I should have told you here of a certain sect of heretics that speak against this order and doctrine, they will have no magistrates nor judges on the earth.

I should have told you here of a certain sect of heretics that speak against this order and doctrine; they will have no magistrates nor judges on the earth. Here I have to tell you, what I heard of late by the relation of a credible person, and a worshipful man, of a town in this realm of England, that hath above five heretics of this erroneous opinion in it, as he said. Oh so busy the devil is now to hinder the word coming out, and to slander the gospel. A sure argument, and an evident demonstration, that the light of God's word is abroad, and that this is a true doctrine that we are taught now: else he would not roar and stir about as he doth. When he hath the upper hand, he will keep his possession quietly, as he did in the popish days, when he bare a rule of supremacy in peaceable possession. If he reigned now in open religion, in open doctrine, as he did then, he would not stir up erroneous opinions, he would have kept us without contention, without dissension. There is no such diversity of opinion among the Turks, nor among the Jews. And why? for there he reigneth peaceably in the whole religion. Christ saith, *Cum fortis armatus custodierit atrium*, &c. "When the strong armed man keepeth his house," those things that he hath in possession are in a quietness, he doth enjoy them peaceably: *Sed cum fortior eo supervenerit*; "But when a stronger than he cometh upon him," when the light of God's word is once revealed, then he is busy, then he roars, then he fisks abroad, and stirreth up erroneous opinions to slander God's word. And this is an argument that we have the true doctrine: I beseech God continue us, and keep us in it. The devil declareth the same, and therefore he roars thus, and goeth about to stir up these wanton heads and busy brains.

And will you know where this town is? I will not tell you

directly; I will put you to muse a little; I will utter the matter by circumlocution. Where is it? where the bishop of the diocess is an unpreaching prelate. Who is that? If there be but one such in all England it is easy to guess: and if there were no more but one, yet it were too many by one; and if there be more, they have the more to answer for, that they suffer in this realm an unpreaching prelate unreformed. I remember well what St. Paul saith to a bishop, and though he spake it to Timothy, being a bishop, yet I may say it now to the magistrates, for all is one case, all is one matter. *Non communicabis peccatis alienis*, "Thou shalt not be partaker of other men's faults," (1 Tim. v.) Lay not thy hands rashly upon any, be not hasty in making of curates, in receiving men to have cure of souls that are not worthy of the office, that either cannot or will not do their duty. Do it not. Why? *Quia communicabis peccatis alienis*, "Thou shalt not be partaker of other men's sins." Now methink it needs not to be partaker of other men's sins, we shall find enough of our own. And what is *communicare peccatis alienis*? "To be partaker of other men's evils," if this be not, to make unpreaching prelates, and to suffer them to continue still in their unpreaching prelacy?

If the king and his council, should suffer evil judges of this realm to take bribes, to defeat justice, and suffer the great to overgo the poor, and should look through his fingers, and wink at it, should not the king be partaker of their naughtiness? And why? Is he not supreme head of the church? What? is the supremacy a dignity, and nothing else? Is it not accountable? I think it will be a chargeable dignity when account shall be asked of it.

Oh what advantage hath the devil? what entry hath the wolf when the shepherd tendeth not his flock, and leads them not to good pasture? St. Paul doth say, *Qui bene præsunt præsbyteri duplici honore digni sunt*. What is this *præsse*? It is as much to say, as to take charge and cure of souls. We say, *Ille præ est*, He is set over the flock. He hath taken charge upon him. And what is *bene præsse*? To discharge the cure, to rule well, to feed the flock with pure food, and good example of life. Well then, *Qui bene præsunt duplici honore digni sunt*, "They that discharge their cure well, are worthy

double honour." What is this double honour? The first is, to be revered, to be had in estimation and reputation with the people, and to be regarded as good pastors. Another honour is, to have all things necessary for their state ministered unto them: this is the double honour that they ought to have, *qui præsunt bene*, that discharge the cure, if they do it *bene*, well.

There was a merry monk in Cambridge in the college that I was in, and it chanced a great company of us to be together intending to make good cheer, and to be merry, as scholars will be merry when they are disposed. One of the company brought out this sentence: *Nil melius quam latari, et facere bene*, "There is nothing better than to be merry, and to do well." "A vengeance of that *bene*," quoth the monk, "I would that *bene* had been banished beyond the sea: and that *bene* were out, it were well, for I could be merry, and I could do, but I love not to do well: that *bene* mars all together. I would *bene* were out," quoth the merry monk, "for it importeth many things, to live well, to discharge the cure." Indeed it were better for them if it were out, and it were as good to be out as to be ordered as it is; it will be a heavy *bene* to some of them, when they shall come to their account. But peradventure you will say, What, and they preach not all? yet *præsunt*, are they not worthy double honour? Is it not an honourable order they be in? Nay an horrible disorder; it is an horror rather than an honour, and horrible rather than honourable, if the preacher be nought and do not his duty. And thus go these prelates about to wrestle for honour, that the devil may take his pleasure in slandering the realin, and that it may be reported abroad, that we breed heresies among ourselves. It is to be thought that some of them would have it so, to bring in popery again.

This I fear me is their intent, and it shall be blown abroad to our holy father of Rome's ears, and he shall send forth his thunderbolts upon these bruits; and all this doth come to pass through their unpreaching prelacy.

Are they not worthy double honour? Nay rather double dishonour, not to be regarded, not to be esteemed among the people, and to have no living at their hands? For as good preachers be worthy double honour, so unpreaching prelates

be worthy double dishonour. They must be at their doublets. But now these two dishonours, what be they? Our Saviour Christ doth shew, *Si sal infatuatus fuerit ad nihil ultra valet nisi ut projiciatur foras*; "If the salt be unsavoury, it is good for nothing, but to be cast out, and trodden of men." (Matt. v.) By this salt is understood preachers, and such as have cure of souls. What be they worthy then? Wherefore serve they? For nothing else but to be cast out.

Make them quondams*, out with them, cast them out of their office; what should they do with cures that will not look them it? Another dishonour is this, *Ut conculcentur ab hominibus*, "To be trodden under men's feet;" not to be regarded, not to be esteemed: they be at their doublets still. St. Paul in his Epistle qualifyeth a bishop, and saith that he must be, *Aptus ad docendum ad refellendum apte*, "To teach, and to confute all manner of false doctrine." But what shall a man do with aptness if he do not use it? It were as good for us to be without it.

A bishop came to me the last day, and was angry with me for a certain sermon that I made in this place. His chaplain had complained against me, because I had spoken against unpreaching prelates. Nay, quoth the bishop, he made so indifferent a sermon the first day, that I thought he would mar all the second day: he will have every man a quondam, as he is. As for my quondamship, I thank God that he gave me the grace to come by it by so honest a means as I did; I thank him for mine own quondamship: and as for them, I would not have them made quondams, if they discharge their office; I would have them do their duty, I would have no more quondams, as God help me. I owe them no more malice than this, and that is none at all.

This bishop answered his chaplain: "Well, says he, well I did wisely to-day; for as I was going to his sermon, I remembered me that I had neither said mass nor matins, and homeward I gat as fast I could, and I thank God I have said both, and let his unfruitful sermon alone." Unfruitful, saith one; another saith seditious. Well, unfruitful is the best, and whe-

* A quondam is a person who is no longer in office, whether by resignation or deprivation; and by doublets are meant pluralities.

ther it be unfruitful or no, I cannot tell, it lieth not in me to make it fruitful; and if God work not in your hearts, my preaching can do you but little good. I am God's instrument but for a time; it is he that must give the increase, and yet preaching is necessary: for take away preaching, and take away salvation. I told you of *Scala cali*, and I made it a preaching matter, not a massing matter. Christ is the preacher of all preachers, the pattern and the exemplar that all preachers ought to follow. For it was he by whom the Father of heaven said, *Hic est filius meus dilectus, ipsum audite*, "This is my well-beloved son, hear him." Even he, when he was here on the earth, as wisely, as learnedly, as circumspectly as he preached, yet his seed fell in three parts, so that the fourth part only was fruitful. And if he had no better luck that was preacher of all preachers, what shall we look for? Yet was there no lack in him, but in the ground: and so now there is no fault in preaching, the lack is in the people, that have stony hearts and thorny hearts; I beseech God to amend them. And as for these folk that speak against me, I never look to have their good word as long as I live: yet will I speak of their wickedness, as long as I shall be permitted to speak: as long as I live I will be an enemy to it. No preachers can pass it over with silence: it is the original root of all mischief. As for me, I owe them no other ill will, but I pray God amend them, when it pleaseth him.

Now to the parable. What did the wicked judge in the end of the tale? The love of God moved him not; the law of God was this, and it is writ in the first of Deuteronomy, *Audite eos*, "Hear them." These two words will be heavy words to wicked judges another day. But some of them peradventure will say, I will hear such as will give bribes, and those that will do me good turns. Nay, ye be hedged out of that liberty. He saith, *Ita parvum ut magnum*, "The small as well as great," ye must do *justum*, deal justly, minister justice, and that to all men, and you must do it *justè*, in time convenient, without any delays or driving off, with expedition. Well, I say, neither this law, nor the word and commandment of God moved this wicked judge, nor the misery of this widow, nor the uprightness of her cause, nor the wrong which she took, moved him; but, to avoid importu-

nity, and clamour, and exclamation, he gave her the hearing, he gave her final sentence, and so she had her request.

This place of judgment, it hath been ever unperfect, it was never seen that all judges did their duty, that they would hear the small as well as the great. I will not prove this by the witness of any private magistrate, but by the wisest king's saying that ever was: *Vidi sub sole* (saith Solomon) *in loco justitiae, impietatem et in loco equitatis iniquitatem*. "I have seen, under the sun," that is to say, over all in every place, where right judgment should have been, "wickedness;" as who would say, bribe staking, defeating of justice, oppressing of the poor: men sent away with weeping tears without any hearing of their causes: and "in the place of equity, saith he, I have seen iniquity." No equity, no justice, a sore word for Solomon to pronounce universally, generally. And if Solomon said it, there is a matter in it. I ween he said it not only for his own time, but he saw it both in those that were before him, and also that were to come after him. Now comes Isaiah, and he affirmeth the same; speaking of the judgments done in his time in the common place, as it might be in Westminster-hall, the Guildhall, the Judges-hall, the Pretor-house, call it what you will: In the open place; for judges at that time, (according to the manner,) sat in the gates of the city, in the highway: A good and godly order, for to sit so that the poor people may easily come to them. But what saith Isaiah, that seditious fellow? He saith of his country this *Expectavi ut faceret judicium, et fecit iniquitatem*. "I looked the judges should do their duty; and I saw them work iniquity." There was bribes walking, money-making, making of hands, (quoth the prophet, or rather almighty God by the prophet,) such is their partiality, affection, and bribes. They be such money-makers*, inhancers, and promoters of themselves. Isaiah knew this by the crying of the people, *Ecce clamor populi*, saith he; And though some among them be unreasonable people, (as many be now a-days,) yet no doubt of it some cried not without a cause. And why? Their matters are not heard, they are fain to go home with weeping tears, that fall

* Sir William Paget, comptroller of the household to Edward VI., among other projects contrived one for debasing the coin in order to increase the royal revenue.

down by their cheeks and ascend up to heaven, and cry for vengeance. Let judges look about them, for surely God will revenge his elect one day.

And surely methink, if a judge would follow but a worldly reason, and weigh the matter politicly, without these examples of scripture, he should fear more the hurt that may be done him by a poor widow, or a miserable man, than by the greatest gentleman of them all. God hath pulled the judges' skins over their heads for the poor man's sake. Yea the poor widow may do him more hurt with her poor Pater-noster in her mouth than any other weapon: and with two or three words shall bring him down to the ground, and destroy his jollity, and cause him to lose more in one day, than he gat in seven years. For God will revenge these miserable folks that cannot help themselves. He saith, *Ego in die visitationis*, &c., "In the day of visitation I will revenge them." *An non ulciscetur anima mea?* "Shall not my soul be revenged?" As who should say; I must needs take their part: *Veniens veniam, et non tardabo*. "Yes, though I tarry, and though I seem to linger never so long, yet I will come at the length, and that shortly." And if God spake this, he will perform his promise. He hath for their sakes, as I told you, pulled the skin over the judge's ears ere this. King David trusted some in his old age that did him no very good service. Now, if in the people of God; there were some folks that fell to bribing, then what was there among the heathen? Absalom, David's son, was a by-walker, and made disturbance among the people in his father's time; and though he were a wicked man, and a by-walker, yet some there were in that time that were good, and walked uprightly. I speak not this against the judges' seat; I speak not as though all judges were naught, and as though I did not hold with the judges, magistrates, and officers, as the Anabaptists, these false heretics do. But I judge them honourable, necessary, and God's ordinance. I speak it as scripture speaketh, to give a caveat and a warning to all magistrates, to cause them to look to their offices. For the devil, the great magistrate, is very busy now, he is ever doing, he never ceaseth to go about to make them like himself. The proverb is, *Simile gaudet simili*, "Like would have like." If the judge be good and upright, he will assay to deceive him, either by the subtle suggestion of crafty lawyers, or else by false

witness, and subtle uttering of a wrong matter: He goeth about as much as he can to corrupt the men of law, to make them fall to bribery, to lay burdens on poor men's backs, and to make them fall to perjury, and to bring into the place of judgment, all corruption, iniquity, and impiety.

I have spoken thus much, to occasion all judges and magistrates to look to their offices. They had need to look about them. This gear moved St. Chrysostom to speak this sentence; *Miror si aliquis rectorum potest salvari*, "I marvel, said this doctor, if any of these rulers or great magistrates can be saved." He spake it not for the impossibility of the thing, (God forbid that all the magistrates and judges should be condemned) but for the difficulty.

Oh that a man might have the contemplation of hell;—that the devil would allow a man to look into hell, to see the state of it, as he shewed all the world when he tempted Christ in the wilderness; *Commonstrat illi omnia regna mundi*. "He shewed him all the kingdoms of the world, and all their jollity, and told him that he would give him all, if he would kneel down and worship him." (Matt. iv.) He lied like a false harlot, he could not give them, he was not able to give so much as a goose wing, for they were none of his to give; the other that he promised them unto, had more right to them than he. But I say, if one were admitted to view hell thus, and behold it thoroughly, the devil would say; "On yonder side are punished unpreaching prelates;" I think a man should see as far as a kenning, and see nothing but unpreaching prelates. He might look as far as Calais, I warrant you. And then if he would go on the other side, and shew where that bribing judges were, I think he should see so many, that there were scant room for any other. Our Lord amend it.

Well, to our matter. This judge I speak of, said; "Though I fear neither God, nor man," &c. And did he think thus? Is it the manner of wicked judges to confess their faults? Nay, he thought not so: and had a man come to him, and called him wicked, he would forthwith have commanded him to ward, he would have defended himself stoutly. It was God that spake in his conscience; God putteth him to utter such things as he saw in his heart, and were hid to himself. And there be like things in the scripture, as, *Dixit insipiens in corde suo*;

non est Deus, "The unwise man said in his heart, There is no God:" and yet, if he should have been asked the question, he would have denied it.

Isaiah the prophet saith also: *Mendacio protecti sumus*, "We are defended with lies; we have put our trust in lies." And in another place he saith, *Ambulabo in pravitate cordis mei*, "I will walk in the wickedness of my heart." He uttereth what lieth in his heart, not known to himself, but to God. It was not for nought that Jeremy describeth man's heart in his colours: *Pravum cor hominis et inscrutabile*: "The heart of man is naughty, a crooked, and froward piece of work." (Jer. xvii.) Let every man humble himself, and acknowledge his fault, and do as St. Paul did: when the people to whom he had preached had said many things in his commendation, yet he durst not justify himself: Paul would not praise himself, to his own justification, and therefore, when they had spoken those things by him, "I pass not at all, (saith he,) what ye say by me," I will not stand to your report: and yet he was not froward, that when he heard the truth reported of him, he would say it to be false; but he said, I will neither stand to your report, though it be good and just, neither yet I will say that it is untrue. He was *bonus pastor*, a good shepherd. He was one of them *qui bene præsunt*, that discharged his cure, and yet he thought that there might be a farther thing in himself, than he saw in himself: and therefore he said, "The Lord shall judge me. I will stand only to the judgment of the Lord." For look, whom he judges to be good, he is sure, he is safe, he is cocksure. I spake of this gear the last day, and of some I had little thank for my labour. I smelled some folks that were grieved with me for it, because I spake against temerarious judgment. "What hath he to do with judgment?" (say they) I went about to keep you from arrogant judgment.

This is no good argument my friends. A man seemeth not to fear death, therefore his cause is good. This is a deceivable argument. He went to his death boldly, *ergo*, he standeth in a just quarrel.

The Anabaptists* that were burnt here in divers towns in

* In the year 1538, four Dutch anabaptists, three men and a woman, had ragots tied to their backs at Paul's cross; and in the same year, one man and a

England (as I heard of credible men, I saw them not myself,) went to their death, even *intrepide*, as ye will say, without any fear in the world, cheerfully. Well, let them go. There was in the old doctors' times another kind of poisoned heretics, that were called Donatists*; and these heretics went to their execution, as though they should have gone to some jolly recreation or banquet, to some belly cheer, or to a play. And will ye argue then, he goeth to his death boldly or cheerfully, *ergo*, he dieth in a just cause? Nay, that sequel followeth no more than this: A man seems to be afraid of death, *ergo*, he dieth evil. And yet our Saviour Christ was afraid of death himself. I warn you therefore, and charge you, not to judge them that be in authority, but to pray for them.

It becometh us not to judge great magistrates nor to condemn their doings, unless their deeds be openly and apparently wicked. Charity requireth the same, for "Charity judgeth no man, but well of every body." And thus we may try whether we have charity or no; and if we have not charity, we are not God's disciples, for they are known by that badge. He that is his disciple, hath the work of charity in his breast. It is a worthy saying of a clerk, *Charitas si est operatur, si non operatur, non est omnia credere, omnia sperare*: "If there be charity, it worketh to believe all things, to hope all;" to say the best of the magistrates, and not to stand to the defending of a wicked matter.

I will go further with you now: I was travailed in the Tower myself, (with the king's commandment and the council,) and

woman of the same country and persuasion, were burnt in Smithfield. In the following reign, George Van Pare, also a Dutchman, was burnt at the same place for holding the Arian doctrine. Bishop Burnet says, it does not appear that any other anabaptists suffered; but the words of Latimer are express for the contrary, and it is plain that many were put to death in different parts of the kingdom. These cruelties gave great advantage to the Romanists.—Stowe's *Annals*. Burnet *Hist. Ref.* Vol. II. p. 112.

* The Donatists took their name from Donatus an African bishop in the fourth century. They excommunicated all other Christians, and would receive none of them to communion without rebaptization; alleging that every part of the Christian world was out of the church except themselves. Not content with this, they proceeded to pull down altars and to persecute the catholic Christians, which produced retaliatory measures, equally severe, till the Donatists were exterminated. Among other things charged upon them, is that of denying the Trinity; but this accusation does not appear to be well grounded.—*Epiphanius de Hæres.*

there was Sir Robert Constable, the Lord Hussey, the Lord Darcy; and the Lord Darcy was telling me of the faithful service that he had done the king's majesty that dead is: "And I had seen my sovereign lord in the field, (said he,) and I had seen his grace come against us, I would have lighted from my horse, and taken my sword by the point, and yielded it into his grace's hands." Marry, (quoth I,) but in the mean season ye played not the part of a faithful subject, in holding with the people in a commotion and a disturbance. It hath been the cast of all traitors to pretend nothing against the king's person; they never pretend the matter to the king, but to other. Subjects may not resist any magistrates, nor ought to do nothing contrary to the king's laws; and therefore these words, The king, and so forth, are of small effect.

I heard once a tale of a thing that was done at Oxford twenty years ago, and the like hath been since in this realm, as I was informed of credible persons, and some of them that saw it be alive yet. There was a priest that was robbed of a great sum of money, and there were two or three attached for the same robbery, and to be brief, were condemned, and brought to the place of execution. The first man, when he was upon the ladder, denied the matter utterly, and took his death upon it, that he never consented to the robbery of the priest, nor never knew of it. When he was dead, the second fellow cometh, and maketh his protestation, and acknowledged the fault; saying, that among other grievous offences that he had done, he was accessary to this robbery; and, saith he, "I had my part of it, I cry God mercy: so had this fellow that died before me his part." Now who can judge whether this fellow died well or no? Who can judge a man's heart? The one denied the matter, and the other confessed it: there is no judging of such matters.

I have heard much wickedness of this man, and I thought oft, Jesu what will worth, what will be the end of this man*. When I was with the bishop of Chichester† in ward, (I was

* This alludes to the recent execution of the lord-admiral Seymour.

† Dr. Richard Sampson was consecrated bishop of Chichester in 1535: but in 1540, he was sent to the Tower on suspicion of holding a correspondence with the Pope; though others say his only crime was that of relieving some poor prisoners who suffered for denying the king's supremacy. He was afterwards made bishop of Lichfield and Coventry.—BURNET, *Ref.* I. 381.—COLLIER, *Ecclest. Hist.* II. 184.

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not so with him but my friends might come to me, and talk with me ;) I was desirous to hear of execution done, (as there was every week some, in one place of the city or other,) for there was three weeks' sessions at Newgate, and fortnight sessions at the Marshalsea, and so forth : I was desirous, I say, to hear of execution, because I looked that my part should have been therein : I looked every day to be called to it myself. Among all other, I heard of a wanton woman, a naughty liver, a whore, a vain body was led from Newgate to the place of execution, for a certain robbery that she had committed, and she had a wicked communication by the way. Here I will take occasion to move your grace, that such men as shall be put to death, may have learned men- to give them instruction and exhortation. For the reverence of God; when they be put to execution, let them have instructors ; for many of them are cast away for lack of instruction, and die miserably for lack of good preaching. This woman, I say, as she went by the way, had wanton and foolish talk, as this, that if good fellows had kept touch with her, she had not been at this time in that case. Christ saith, *Memores estote uxoris Loth*, "Remember Lot's wife." She was a woman that would not be content with her good state, but wrestled with God's calling, and she was for that cause turned into a salt stone, and therefore the scripture doth name her as an example for us to take heed by. Ye shall see also in the second chapter how that God Almighty spared not a number of his angels, which had sinned against him, to make them examples to us to beware by. He drowned the whole world in the time of Noah, and destroyed for sin the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah. And why ? *Fecit eos exemplum iis qui impii forent acturi*, "He made them an example to them that would do wickedly in time to come." If God would not spare them, think ye will favour us ?

I will go on a word or two, in the application of the parable, and then I will make an end. To what end and to what purpose brought Christ this parable of the wicked judge ? The end is, that we should be continually in prayer. Prayer is never interrupted but by wickedness. We must therefore walk orderly, uprightly, calling upon God in all our troubles and adversities, and for this purpose there is not a more comfortable lesson in all the scripture, than here now in the lapping up of the matter. Therefore I will open it unto you. You miser-

able people, if there be any here amongst you, that are oppressed with great men, and can get no help, I speak for your comfort, I will open unto you whither ye shall resort, when ye be in any distress. His good will is ready, always at hand, whensoever we shall call for it; and therefore he calls us to himself. We shall not doubt if we come to him. Mark what he saith, to cause us believe that our prayers shall be heard, *et Deus non faciet vindictam*, he reasons after this fashion; "Will not God, saith he, revenge his elect, and hear them;" seeing the wicked judge heard the widow? He seemeth to go plainly to work, he willeth us to pray to God, and to none but to God. We have a manner of reasoning in the schools, and it is called, *à minore ad majus*, "From the less to the more," and that may be used here. The judge was a tyrant, a wicked man. God is a patron, a defender, father unto us. If the judge then, being a tyrant, would hear the poor widow, much more God will hear us in all distresses: he being a father unto us, he will hear us, sooner than the other, being no father having no fatherly affection. Moreover, God is naturally merciful. The judge was cruel, and yet he helped the widow; much more then will God help us at our need. He saith by the oppressed, *Cum ipso sum in tribulatione*, "I am with him in his trouble: His tribulation is mine; I am touched with his trouble." If the judge then, being a cruel man, heard the widow; much more God will help us, being touched with our affliction.

Furthermore, this judge gave the widow no commandment to come to him: We have a commandment to resort to God; for he saith, *Invoca me in die tribulationis*, "Call upon me in the day of thy tribulations:" which is as well a commandment as, *Non furaberis*, "Thou shalt not steal." He that spake the one, spake the other; and whatsoever he be that is in trouble, and calleth not upon God, breaketh his commandment: take heed, therefore, the judge did not promise the widow help; God promiseth us help, and will he not perform it? He will, he will. The judge, I say, did not promise the widow help; God will give us both hearing and helping. He hath promised it us with a double oath, Amen, Amen, (saith he;) "Verily, verily," he doubles it, *Quacunque pecieritis*, &c., "Whatsoever ye shall ask in my name, ye shall have it." And though he put off some sinner for a time, and suffer him to bite

on the bridle to prove him, (for there be many beginners, but few continuers in prayer;) yet we may not think that he hath forgotten us, and will not help us: *Veniens veniet, non tardabit*, “When the help is most needful, then he will come, and not tarry.” He knoweth when it shall be best for us to have help: though he tarry, he will come at the last.

I will trouble you but half a quarter of an hour in the application of the parable, and so commit you to God.

What should it mean, that God would us so diligent and earnest in prayer? Hath he such pleasure in our works? May talk of prayer, and make it a lip-labouring. Praying is not babbling; nor praying is not monkery. It is, to miserable folk that are oppressed, a comfort, solace and a remedy. But what maketh our prayer to be acceptable to God? It lieth not in our power; we must have it by another mean. Remember what God said of his Son; *Hic est filius meus dilectus, in quo mihi hinc bene complacui*, “This is my dear Son, in whom I delight.” He hath pleasure in nothing but in him. How cometh it to pass that our prayer pleaseth God? Our prayer pleaseth God, because Christ pleaseth God. When we pray, we come unto him in the confidence of Christ’s merits, and thus offering up our prayers, they shall be heard for Christ’s sake: yea, Christ will offer them up for us, that offered up once his sacrifice to God, which was acceptable; and he that cometh with any other mean than this, God knoweth him not.

This is not the Missal sacrifice, the Popish sacrifice, to stand at the altar, and offer up Christ again.—Out upon it that ever it was used. I will not say nay, but that ye shall find in the old doctors this word *Sacrificium*, but there is one general solution for all the doctors that St. Augustine sheweth us: “The sign of a thing, hath oftentimes the name of the thing that it signifieth.” As the supper of the Lord is the sacrament of another thing, it is a commemoration of his death, which suffered once for us; and because it is a sign of Christ’s offering up, therefore he bears the name thereof. And this sacrifice a woman can offer as well as a man; yea, a poor woman in the belfry hath as good authority to offer up this sacrifice, as hath the bishop in his pontificalibus, with his mitre on his head, his rings on his fingers, and sandals on his feet. And whosoever cometh asking the Father remedy in his necessity,

for Christ's sake, he offereth up as acceptable a sacrifice as any bishop can do.

And so, to make an end : This must be done with a constant faith, and a sure confidence in Christ. Faith, faith, faith ; we are undone for lack of faith. Christ nameth faith here, faith is all together. " When the Son of man shall come, shall he find faith on the earth ? " Why speaketh he so much of faith ? Because it is hard to find a true faith. He speaketh not of a political faith, a faith set up for a time ; but a constant, a permanent, a durable faith, as durable as God's word.

He came many times : first in the time of Noah when he preached, but he found little faith. He came also when Lot preached, when he destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah, but he found no faith. And to be short, he shall come at the latter day, but he shall find a little faith. And I ween the day be not far off. When he was here carnally, did he find any faith ? Many speak of faith but few there be that hath it. Christ mourneth the lack of it. He complaineth, that when he came, he found no faith.

This Faith is a great state, a lady, a duchess, a great woman ; and she hath ever a great company and train about her, as a noble estate ought to have. First, she hath a gentleman-usher that goeth before her, and where he is not there is not Lady Faith. This gentleman-usher is called *Agnitio peccatorum*, knowledge of sin ; when we enter into our heart, and acknowledge our faults, and stand not about to defend them. He is none of these winkers, he kicks not when he hears his fault. Now as the gentleman-usher goeth before her, so she hath a train that cometh behind her ; and yet, though they come behind, they be all of Faith's company, they are all with her : as Christ, when he counterfeited a state going to Jerusalem, some went before him, and some after, yet all were of his company. So all these wait upon Faith, she hath a great train after her, besides her gentleman-usher, her whole household ; and those be the works of our vocation, when every man considereth what vocation he is in, what calling he is in, and doth the works of the same ; as, to be good to his neighbour, to obey God, &c. This is the train that followeth Lady Faith : as for an example ; a faithful judge hath first an heavy reckoning of his fault, repenting himself of his wickedness,

and then forsaketh his iniquity, his impiety, feareth no man, walks upright; and he that doth not thus, hath not Lady Faith, but rather a boldness of sin, and abusing of Christ's passion. Lady Faith is never without her gentleman-usher, nor without her train; she is no anchoress*, she dwells not alone, she is never a private woman, she is never alone. And yet many there be that boast themselves that they have faith, and that when Christ shall come they shall do well enough. Nay, nay, those that be faithful shall be so few, that Christ shall scarce see them. "Many there be that runneth, saith St. Paul, but there is but one that receiveth the reward."

It shall be with the multitude, when Christ shall come, as it was in the time of Noah, and as it was in the time of Lot. In the time of Noah, "they were eating and drinking, building and planting, and suddenly the water came upon them, and drowned them." In the time of Lot also, "they were eating and drinking, &c., and suddenly the fire came upon them, and devoured them."—And now we are eating and drinking: there was never such building then as is now, planting, nor marrying. And thus it shall be, even when Christ shall come at judgment.

Is eating, and drinking, and marrying, reprov'd in scripture? Is it not? Nay, he reproveth not all kind of eating and drinking, he must be otherwise understood. If the scripture be not truly expounded, what is more erroneous? And though there be complainings of some eating and drinking in the scripture, yet he speaketh not as though all were naught. They may be well ordered, they are God's allowance: but to eat and drink as they did in Noah's time, and as they did in Lot's time; this eating, and drinking, and marrying, is spoken against. To eat and drink in the forgetfulness of God's commandment, voluptuously, in excess and gluttony, this kind of eating and drinking is naught; when it is not done moderately, soberly, and with all circumspection. And likewise to marry for fleshly lust, and for their own phantasy.

There was never such marrying in England as is now. I hear tell of stealing of wards to marry their children to. This is a strange kind of stealing: but it is not the wards,

* A female recluse.

it is the lands that they steal. And some there be that knit up marriages together, not for any love or godliness in the parties, but to get friendship, and make them strong in the realm, to increase their possessions, and to join land to land. And other there be that inveigle men's daughters, in the contempt of their fathers, and go about to marry them without their consent: this marrying is ungodly. And many parents constrain their sons and daughters to marry where they love not, and some are beaten and compelled. And they that marry thus, marry in a forgetfulness and obliviousness of God's commandments.

But as in the time of Noah suddenly a clap fell in their bosoms; so it shall be with us at the latter day, when Christ shall come. We have as little conscience as may be; and when he shall come he shall lack Lady Faith. Well is them that shall be of that little flock, that shall be set on the right hand, &c.

I have troubled you long, partly being out of my matter, partly being in; but now I will make an end. I began with this text, *Quacunque scripta sunt*, &c.; so I will end now for mine own ease, as an old truant, with this sentence; *Beati qui audiunt verbum Dei*, &c., "Blessed are they that hear the word of God, and keep it." I told you in the beginning of this parable of *bene: Nil melius quàm letari et facere*. If I had ceased there, all had been well, quoth the merry monk; so, "Blessed are they that hear the word of God;" but what followeth? "and keep it." Our blessedness cometh of the keeping. It hangs all on the end of the tale, in crediting and assenting to the word, and following of it. And thus we shall begin our blessedness here, and at the length we shall come to the blessing that never shall have end; which God grant both you and me. *Amen.*

THE
FIFTH SERMON
PREACHED BEFORE KING EDWARD,
APRIL 5th, 1549.

ROMANS xv. 4.

Quæcunque scripta sunt ; ad nostram doctrinam scripta sunt.

All things that are written, they are written to be our doctrine.

WHAT doctrine is written for us in the parable of the judge and the widow, I have opened it to you, most honourable audience. Something as concerning the judge, I would wish and pray that it might be a little better kept in memory, that in the seat of justice no more iniquity and unrighteousness might reign. Better a little well kept, than a great deal forgotten. I would the judges would take forth their lesson, that there might be no more iniquity used, nor bribe-taking ; for if there shall be bribing, they know the peril of it, they know what shall follow. I would also they should take an example of this judge, that did say, not that that he thought himself, but our Saviour Christ puts him to say that thing that was hid unto himself. Wherefore I would ye should keep in memory, how unsearchable a man's heart is. I would ye should remember the fall of the angels, and beware thereby ; the fall of the old world, and beware thereby ; the fall of Sodom and Gomorrah, and beware thereby ; the fall of Lot's wife, and beware thereby.

I would not that miserable folk should forget the argument of the wicked judge, to induce them to prayer ; which argument is this : If the judge, being a tyrant, a cruel man, a wicked man, which did not call her to him, made her no promise, nor in hearing nor helping of her cause, yet in the end of the matter, for the importunity's sake, did help her ; much more almighty God, which is a father, who beareth a fatherly affection, as the father doth to the child, and is naturally merciful,

and calleth us to him, with his promise that he will hear them that call upon, that be in distress, and burdened with adversity. Remember this. You know where to have your remedy. You by your prayer can work great efficacy, and your prayer with tears is an instrument of great efficacy: it can bring many things to pass.

But what thing is that that maketh our prayer acceptable to God? Is it our babbling? No, no; it is not our babbling, nor our long prayer; there is another thing than it. The dignity and worthiness of our words is of no such virtue. For whosoever resorteth unto God, not in the confidence of his own merits, but in the sure trust of the deserving of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and in his passion; whosoever doth invoke the Father of heaven, in the trust of Christ's merits, which offering is the most comfortable and acceptable offering to the Father; whosoever, I say, offereth up Christ, which is a perfect offering, he cannot be denied the thing he desireth, so that it be expedient for him to have it. It is not the babbling of our lips, nor dignity of our words, but the prayer of the heart, is the offering that pleaseth, through the only means of his son. For our prayer profiteth us, because we offer Christ to his Father. Whosoever resorteth to God without Christ, he resorteth in vain. Our prayer pleaseth because of Jesus Christ, whom we offer. So that it is faith, faith, faith is the matter. It is no prayer that is without faith, it is but a lip-labouring and mockery, without faith; it is but a little babbling.

I spake also of lack of faith; and upon that also I said, The end of the world is near at hand; for there is lack of faith now; also the defection is come, and swerving from the faith. Antichrist, the man of sin, the son of iniquity, is revealed; the latter day is at hand. Let us not think his coming is far off. But whensoever he cometh, he shall find iniquity enough, let him come when he will.

What is now behind? We be eating and drinking as they were in Noah's time; and marrying, I think as wickedly as ever was. We be building, purchasing, planting, in the contempt of God's word. He may come shortly, when he will, for there is so much mischief, and swerving from the faith, reigning now in our days, as ever was in any age. It is a good warning to us all, to make ready against his coming.

This little rehearsal I have made of the things I spake in my last sermon. I will now for this day return to my question, and dissolve it, whether God's people may be governed by a governor that beareth the name of a king, or no? The Jews had a law, that when they should have a king, they should have him according to the election of God: he would not leave the election of a king to their own brains. There be some busy brains, wanton wits, that say, the name of a king is an odious name, and wrest this text of the scripture: where God seemeth to be angry and displeased with the Israelites for asking a king, expounding it very evil and odiously: as who would say, a king were an odious thing. I coming riding in my way, and calling to remembrance wherefore I was sent, that I must preach, and preach before the king's majesty: I thought it meet to frame my preaching according to a king. Musing of this, I remembered a book that came from cardinal Pole*, master Pole, the king's traitor, which he sent to the king's majesty. I never remember that man, methink, but I remember him with a heavy heart; a witty man, a learned man, a man of a noble house, so in favour, that if he had tarried in the realm, and would have conformed himself to the king's proceedings, I heard say, and I believe it verily, that he had been bishop of York at this day. To be a bidden-by†, he would have done much good in that part of the realm, for those quarters have always had great need of a learned man, and a preaching prelate. A thing to be much lamented, that such a man should take such a way. I hear say, he readeth much St. Jerom's

* Reginald Pole was descended from the blood-royal of England, being a younger son of Sir Richard Pole, cousin-german to Henry VII., by Margaret, daughter of George duke of Clarence, younger brother of Edward IV. He was educated for the church, and at the age of seventeen had two deanries. About this time he went to Italy, where he greatly improved himself in learning. On his return to England he would have obtained the highest preferments, had it not been for his opposition to the king's divorce from Catharine of Arragon. To avoid the royal displeasure, he went abroad, and in 1536 was made a cardinal, for which he was proclaimed a traitor, and a price put upon his head. In 1549, he lost the popedom when offered him, by telling the cardinals to do nothing rashly. This offended them so much that they chose cardinal de Monte, who assumed the name of Julius III. On the accession of Mary, he was recalled to England, and when Cranmer was deposed, obtained the archbishopric of Canterbury. The cardinal died Nov. 18, 1558.

† The same as the common phrase, "by the by."

works, and is well seen in them ; but I would he would follow St. Jerom, where he expoundeth this place of scripture ; “ *Exite de illa popula meus :*” Almighty God saith, “ Get you from it, get you from Rome ;” he calleth it the purple whore of Babylon, It had been more commendable to go from it, than to come to it. What his sayings be in his book, I do not well remember, it is in the farthest end of my memory. He declareth himself in it, to have a corrupt judgment. I have but a glimmering of it, yet in general I remember the scope of it. He goeth about to dissuade the king from his supremacy. In his persuasions he is very homely, very quick, and sharp with the king, as these cardinals will take well upon them. He saith, that a king is an odious word, and toucheth the place how God was offended with the Israelites for calling for a king. Very lightly he seemeth to set forth the title of a king. As though he should mean : What is a king ? what should a king take upon him to redress matters of religion ? It pertaineth to our holy father of Rome. A king is a name and a title rather suffered of God as an evil thing, than allowed as a good thing. Calling this to remembrance, it was an occasion that I spake altogether before. Now I will answer to this. For the answer I must somewhat rip the eighth chapter of the first book of the Kings. And that I may have grace, &c.

To come to the opening of this matter, I must begin at the chapter : that the unlearned, although I am sure, here be a great many well learned, may the better come to the understanding of the matter : *Factum est cum senuisset Samuel fecit filios suos judices populo*, “ It came to pass when Samuel was stricken in age, he made his sons judges over Israel.” (1 Sam. viii.) Of Samuel I might fetch a process afar off, of the story of Elkanah, who was his father, and who was his mother. Elkanah, his father, had two wives, Hannah and Peninnah, and did not put them away as men do now-a-days. There was debate between these two wives. Peninnah, in the doing of sacrifice, embayrded Hannah because she was barren and not fruitful. I might take here occasion to intreat of the duty between man and wife, which is a holy religion, but not religiously kept. But I will not enter into that matter at this time. Well, in process of time God made Hannah fruitful through her devout prayer : She brought

forth Samuel, who by the ordinance of God was made the high priest. Father Samuel, a good man, a singular example, and singular pattern, a man alone, few such men as father Samuel was. To be short, he was now come to age, he was an old man, an impotent man, not able to go from place to place to minister justice; he elected and chose two suffragans, two coadjutors, two co-helpers, I mean not hallowers of bells, nor christeners of bells*, that is a popish suffraganship. He made them to help him to discharge his office; he chose his two sons rather than other, because he knew them to be well brought up in virtue and learning. It was not for any carnal affection, he cared not for his renown or revenues, but he appointed them for the ease of the people, the one for to supply his place in Beersheba, and the other in Bethlehem. As we have now in England, for the wealth of the realm, we have two lords presidents. Surely it is well done, and a goodly order: I would there were a third in another place. For the ease of his people, good father Samuel, and to discharge his office in places where he could not come himself, he set his two sons in office with him as his suffragans and as his coadjutors. Here I might take occasion to treat, what old and impotent bishops should do, what old preachers should do, when they come to impotency, to join with them preachers; preachers, not bell-hallowers†, and to depart part of their living with them. I might have dilated this matter at large, but I am honestly prevented of this common-place, and I am very glad of it. It was

* By the statute 26 Hen. VIII., the archbishops, and twelve of the bishops had power to constitute suffragans, in sundry towns there named, subject to the approbation of the king. At the time of the revolution, the deprived bishops availed themselves of this act by consecrating four suffragans to perpetuate the succession of non-jurors.

† Bells were not only formally consecrated by the bishops with divers ceremonies, but god-fathers and god-mothers were appointed for them who were usually persons of high rank. Durandus, the ritualist, says, *Pulsatur et benedicuntur campana ut per illius factum et sonitum fideles invitentur*, &c.; that is, "The bell is hallowed and rung, that by its sound the faithful might be stirred up, their bodies and minds kept sound, enemies driven away, and all their stratagems defeated, the violence of hail, tempest, storms and thunder allayed, lightning and winds restrained, and all evil spirits and powers of the air vanquished." On the appearance of a comet, pope Calixtus III. ordered the bells to be rung, to drive away the portentous stranger.

very well handled the last Sunday. They that will not for the office sake receive other, regard more the fleece than the flock. Father Samuel regarded not his revenues. Our Lord give them grace to be affected as he was, and to follow him, &c.

Though I say I would wish more lord presidents, I mean not, that I would have prelates lord presidents, nor that lord bishops should be lord presidents.

As touching that, I said my mind and conscience the last year. And although it is said, *præsunt*, it is not meant that they should be lord presidents: the office of a presidentship is a civil office, and it cannot be, that one man shall discharge both well. It followeth in the text, *Non ambulaverunt filii ejus in viis ejus*, "His sons walked not in his ways:" Here is the matter, here ye see the goodness of Samuel how when he was not able to take the pains himself, for their own ease, he appointed them judges near unto them, as it were in the further parts of his realm, to have justice rightly ministered. But what followed? Though Samuel were good, and his children well brought up, look what the world can do! Ah, crafty world, whom shall not this world corrupt, and deceive at one time or other? Samuel thought his sons should have proved well, but yet Samuel's sons walked not in their father's way. Why? What then? Is the son always bound to walk in the father's way? No, ye must not take it for a general rule. All sons are not to be blamed for not walking in their father's ways. Hezekiah did not follow the steps of his father Ahaz, and was well allowed in it. Josiah, the best king that ever was in Jewry, reformed his father's ways, who walked in worldly policy. In his youth he took away all idolatry, and purged his realm of it, and set a good order in all his dominions, and wrestled with idolatry. And although his father or his grandfather Manasses, (it makes no matter whether), repented in the end, he had no time to reform things, he left it to his son to be done. Josiah began, and made an alteration in his childhood, he turned all upside-down, he would suffer no idolatry to stand. Therefore you must not take it for a general rule, that the son must ever walk in his father's ways. Here I will renew that which I said before of the stiff-necked Jews, the rebellious people, that is their title; they never spake so rebelliously, as to say they would not receive any alteration, till their king came to age.

Much less we Englishmen, if there be any such in England, may be ashamed. I wonder with what conscience folk can hear such things, and allow it.

This Josiah made a notable alteration, and therefore take it not for a general rule, that the son shall always walk in his father's ways. Think not because he was slain in battle, that God was displeased with him: for herein God shewed his goodness to him wonderfully, who would not suffer him to see the captivity that he would bring upon the Israelites. He would not have him to have the sight, the feeling, and the beholding of his plague; he suffered him to be taken away before, and to be slain of the king of Egypt. Wherefore a just man must be glad when he is taken from misery, *Justus si morte præoccupatus fuerit in retrigerio erit*, "If a just man be prevented with death, it shall be to his relief." He must think that he is one of those, whom the world is not worthy to have. It came of a singular goodness of God, that he was by death delivered from the sight of that captivity. Therefore take it not for a general rule, that the sons be always bound to walk in the father's ways: *Nolite in preceptis patrum vestrorum incedere*, "Walk not in the commandments of your fathers;" for so it is said in another place of scripture.

It is spoken to the reproach of Samuel's sons, that they walked not in his way, for he was a good man. A wonderful thing that these children being so well brought up, should so fall and be corrupt. If the devil can prevail and hath power against them, that had so godly education, what vantage hath he of them that be brought up in iniquity and covetousness? It is a proverb, that *Magistratus virum commonstrat*, "Office and authority sheweth what a man is." A man knoweth not himself till he be tried. Many there be that being without office can rebuke magistrates, and find fault with men that be in office, and pre-eminence. After, when it cometh to their chance to come to office themselves, then they have taken out a new lesson, *Cum essem parvulus sapiebam ut parvulus*, "When I was a child I savoured as a child." They will do then as other men do; they are come to have experience, to be practitioners. The maid's child is ever best taught: for he that standeth upright in office, he is the fellow. Samuel would never have thought that his sons should have been so cor-

rupted. It is a perilous thing, a dangerous state to be a judge.

They felt the smack of this world, a perilous thing: and therefore Chrysostom saith, *Miror si aliquis rectorum saluabitur*, "I marvel," saith he, "that any ruler can be saved." If the peril were well considered, men would not be so desirous as they be. The world, the world hath many subtle sleights, it is a crafty thing, and very deceitful, a corrupter, and who is it whom the world doth not corrupt and blind at one time or other? What was the way they walked? *Declinaverunt post avaritiam*, that is one: They stooped after gains, turned aside after lucre. What followed? *Acceperunt munera*, They took rewards, gifts; bribes, I should call them, for that is their right name. *Perverterunt iudicium*, They turned justice upside down. Either they would give wrong judgment, or else put off and delay poor men's matters. These were their ways, here is the devil's genealogy; a gradation of the devil's making. This is *scala inferni*, the ladder of hell.

I told you before of *scala cali*, the ladder of heaven; I would you should not forget it. The steps thereof are set forth in the tenth to the Romans. The first is preaching, then hearing, then believing, and last of all salvation. *Scala cali* is a preaching matter, I tell you, and not a massing matter. God's instrument of salvation is preaching. Here I move you, my Lords, not to be greedy and outrageous in enhancing, and raising of your rents, to the minishing of the office of salvation. It would pity a man's heart to hear that that I hear of the state of Cambridge; what it is in Oxford I cannot tell. There be few do study divinity, but so many as of necessity must furnish the colleges, for their livings be so small, and victuals so dear, that they tarry not there, but go other where to seek livings; and so they go about. Now there be a few gentlemen, and they study a little divinity. Alas! what is that? It will come to pass that we shall have nothing but a little English divinity, that will bring the realm into a very barbarousness, and utter decay of learning. It is not that, I wis, that will keep out the supremacy of the bishop of Rome.

Here I will make a supplication, that ye would bestow so much to the finding of scholars of good wits, of poor men's sons, to exercise the office of salvation, in relieving of scholars,

as ye were wont to bestow in pilgrimage matters, in trentals, in masses, in pardons, in purgatory matters. Ye bestowed that liberally, bountifully, but this was not well spent. You had a zeal, but not *secundum scientiam*, not according to knowledge. You may be sure, if you bestow your goods on this wise, ye shall bestow it well, to support and uphold God's word, wherein ye shall please God. I require no more, but that ye bestow so much godly, as ye were wont to bestow ungodly. It is a reasonable petition, for God's sake look upon it; I say no more. There be none now but great men's sons in colleges, and their fathers look not to have them preachers, so every way this office of preaching is pinched at. I will speak no more of *scala cali*. But I am sure this is *scala inferni*, the right way to hell, to be covetous, to take bribes, and pervert justice. If a judge should ask me the way to hell, I would shew him this way: First, let him be a covetous man, let his heart be poisoned with covetousness. Then let him go a little further and take bribes, and last pervert judgment. Lo, here is the mother and the daughter, and the daughter's daughter. Avarice is the mother, she brings forth bribe-taking, and bribe-taking, perverting of judgment. There lacks a fourth thing to make up the mess, which, so God help me, if I were judge, should be *hangum tuum*, a Tyburn tippet to take with him, and it were the judge of the king's bench, my lord chief judge of England: yea, and it were my lord chancellor himself, to Tyburn with him. There was within these thirty years a certain widow which suddenly was attached, had to prison, indicted, condemned, and there were certain learned men that visited her in the prison. Oh, I would ye would resort to prisons. A commendable thing in a christian realm, I would wish that there were curates for prisons, that we might say, the curate of Newgate, the curate of the Fleet, and I would have them waged for their labour. It is a holyday work to visit the prisoners, for they be kept from sermons. There was that resorted to this woman, who when she came to prison, was all on her beads, and nothing else, a popish woman, and savoured not of Jesu Christ. In process she was so applied, that she tasted *quam suavis est Dominus*; she had such a savour, such a sweetness and feeling, that she thought it long to the day of execution. She was with Christ already, as touching faith;

she had such a desire that she said with St. Paul, *Cupio dissolvi et esse cum Christo*, "I desire to be rid, and to be with Christ." The word of God had so wrought in her. When she was brought to punishment, she desired to confess her fault; she took of her death, that she was guiltless in that thing she suffered for, and her neighbours would have borne her witness in the same. She was always an honest civil woman, her neighbours would have gone on her purgation a great way. They would needs have her confess; then saith she, I am not guilty, would ye have me make me guilty where I am not? Yet for all this she was a trespasser, she had done a great offence. But before I go forward with this, I must first tell you a tale. I heard a good while ago, a tale of one, (I saw the man that told me the tale not long ago in this auditory; he hath travelled in more countries than one.) He told me that there was once a pretor in Rome, lord mayor of Rome, a rich man, one of the richest merchants in all the city, and suddenly he was cast in the castle Angel (St. Angelo). It was heard of, and every man whispered in another's ear; "What hath he done? Hath he killed any man?" "No." "Hath he meddled with alum, our holy father's merchandise?" "No." "Hath he counterfeited our holy father's bulls?" "No." For these were high treasons. One rounded another in the ear, and said: *Erat dives*, "He was a rich man," a great fault. Here was a goodly prey for that holy father. It was in pope Julius's time, he was a great warrior. This prey would help him to maintain his wars; a jolly prey for our holy father. So this woman was *Dives*: she was a rich woman, she had her lands by the sheriff's nose. He was a gentleman of a long nose. Such a cup, such a cover! She would not depart from her own. This sheriff was a covetous man, a worldly man. The judge, at the impannelling of the quest, had his grave looks, and charged them with this: "It was the king's matter, look well upon it." When it makes for their purpose, they have the king, the king, in their mouths. Well, somewhat there was, there was walking of angels* between them. I would wish that of such a judge in England now we might have the skin

* A gold coin, which bore the figure of an angel stamped on it, and was worth about ten shillings.

hanged up. It were a goodly sign, the sign of the judge's skin. It should be Lot's wife, to all judges that should follow after.

By this ye may perceive it is possible for a man to answer for himself, and be arraigned at the bar, and nevertheless to have wrong*. Yea, ye shall have it in form of law, and yet have wrong too. So it is possible, in a case, for a man that hath in his absence attainment, to have right and no wrong. I will not say nay, but it is a good law for a man to answer for himself: this is reasonable, allowable, and good. And yet such an urgent cause may be, such a respect to a commonwealth, that a man may rightly be condemned in his absence. There be such causes that a man may in his absence be condemned, but not oft, except they be such cases that the reason of the general law may be kept. I am provoked of some to condemn this law, but I am not able, so it be but for a time, and upon weighty considerations, so that it be used rarely, seldomly, for avoiding disturbance in the commonwealth, so that moderation may be used in it. And nevertheless it is very meet and requisite that a man should answer for himself. We must consider the ground of the law: for *Ratio legis, anima legis*, "The reason of the law is the soul of the law." Why? What is the reason and end of the law? It is this, that no man should be injured. A man may in his attainment have no more wrong done him, than if he answered for himself. Ah! then I am not able to say, that in no wise, an arraignment may be turned into attainment. A man may have wrong (and that in open judgment, and in form of law,) and yet allowed to answer for himself, and even so is it possible he may have right, though he never answer for himself. I will not say, but that the parliament houses, both high and low, may err, and yet they may do well, and christian subjects must take all things to the best, and expound their doings well, although they cannot yield a reason for it, except their proceedings be manifestly wicked. For though they cannot attain to see for what

* This is another allusion to the case of Thomas Seymour, Lord Sudley, and high admiral of England, who had recently been attainted of high treason, and sentenced to death, which judgment was put in execution on Tower Hill, Latimer was severely censured for the reflections which he made upon that bad, but ill-treated, man, in this sermon. The only excuse to be alleged for the bishop is that he acted conscientiously.

purpose things be done, it is no good reason that they be called evil done therefore. And is this a good argument, "He is not allowed to answer for himself in this place or that place where he will appoint: *Ergo*, he is not allowed to answer for himself?" No: he might have answered the best he could for himself before a great many, and have had more too if he had required them: Yea, and was commanded upon his allegiance to speak for himself and to make answer, but he would not, needs he would come out to judgment, and appointed the place himself. A man that answers for himself at the bar, is not allowed his man of law to answer for him, but he must answer himself. Yet in the parliament although he were not there himself, any friend he had, had liberty to answer for him, frank and free. I know of the old manner: the tenour of the writs is this, every man to speak the best he knoweth of his conscience, for the king's majesty's honour, and the wealth of the realm.

There were in the parliament, in both houses, a great many learned men, conscionable men, wise men. When that man was attainted there, and they had liberty there to say nay to his attaintment if they would; sure I am the most allowed it, or else it could not have gone forward. These premises considered, I would have you to bear such a heart, as it becometh christian subjects. I know what men say of me well enough. I could purge myself. There is that provokes me to speak against this law of attaintment, they say I am not indifferent. Surely I would have it to be done rarely upon some great respect to the commonwealth, for avoiding of greater tumult and peril. St. Paul was allowed to answer for himself, if Lysias the tribune had not plucked him away from shewing of his matter, it had cost him his life. Where he was saved by the magistrate, being but a private man; will ye not allow that something be done, as well for saving of the magistrate's life? It behoves them of the parliament to look well upon the matter: and I, for my part think not but they did well, else I should not yield the duty of a subject. Some liken me to doctor Shaw*, that preached at Paul's Cross, that king Ed-

* Dr. John Shaw, brother to the lord-mayor of London, on the 19th of June, 1476, preached a sermon at Paul's Cross, from this text of the Apocrypha, Wisdom iv. 3. "Bastard slips shall not take root;" from whence he took oc-

ward's sons were bastards. An easy matter for one of the counsel to do as doctor Shaw did. Methink you, being the king's servant and his officer should think better on the king and his council, though I were light of belief. If he had been a true man to his master, he would never have spoken it. The counsel needs not my lie, for the defence of that, that they do. I can bear it of myself. Concerning myself, that which I have spoken hath done some good. You will say this; the parliament-house are wiser than I am, you might leave them to the defence of themselves. Although the men of the parliament-house can defend themselves, yet have I spoken this of a good zeal, and a good ground, I take God to witness. Use therefore your judgment and languages as it becometh christian subjects. I will now leave the honourable counsel to answer for themselves. He confessed one fact, he would have had the governance of the king's majesty. And wot you why? He said he would not, in his minority, have him brought up like a ward. I am sure he hath been brought up so godly, with such schoolmasters, as never king was in England, and so hath prospered under them, as never none did. I wot not what he meant by his bringing up like a ward, unless he would have him not to go to his book and learn as he doth. Now wo worth him, yet I will not say so neither, but I pray God amend him, or else God send him short life, that would have my sovereign not to be brought up in learning, and would pluck him from his book. I advertise thee therefore, my fellow subject, use thy tongue better and expound well the doings of the magistrates.

Now to the purpose, for these things let me of my matter. Some say preachers should not meddle with such matters; but did not our Saviour Jesus Christ meddle with matters of judgment, when he spake of the wicked judge, to leave example to us that follow, to do the same?

Ye see here, that lady Covetousness is a fruitful woman, ever childing, and ever bringing forth her fruits. It is a true saying,

casion to invalidate the title of the young king Edward V., for the purpose of recommending the pretensions of the usurper Richard, duke of York. The doctor was hissed by the audience for his time-serving conduct, and this treatment made such an impression upon his spirits that he went home and soon after died of vexation.—SIR THOMAS MORE's *History of Richard III.*

Radix omnium malorum avaritia, "Covetousness is the root of all wickedness." One will say, peradventure, you speak unseemly, and inconveniently, so to be against the officers, for taking of rewards in doing pleasures. Ye consider not the matter to the bottom. "Their offices be bought for great sums; now how should they receive their money again, but by bribing? Ye would have them undone. Some of them gave two hundred pound, some five hundred pound, some two thousand pound. And how shall they gather up this money again, but by helping themselves in their office?" And is it so, trow ye? are civil offices bought for money? Lord God, who would have thought that? Let us not be too hasty to credit it. For then we have the old proverb, *Omnia venalia Romæ*, "All things are sold for money at Rome;" and Rome is come home to our own doors. If they buy, they must needs sell; for it is wittily spoken: *Vendere jure potest, emerat ille prius*, "He may lawfully sell it, he bought it before." God forfend, that ever any such enormity should be in England, that civil offices should be bought and sold; whereas men should have them given them for their worthiness. I would the king's majesty should seek through his realm for meet men, and able men, worthy to be in office, yea, and give them liberally for their pains; and rather give them money to take the office in hand, than they to give money for it. This buying of offices is a making of bribery, it is an inducing and enforcing, and compelling of men to bribery. Holy scripture qualificieth the officers, and sheweth what manner of men they should be, and of what qualities, *viros fortes*, "strong men;" some translations have, *viros sapientes*, "wise men;" the English translation hath it very well, "men of activity," that have stomachs to do their office, they must not be milk-sops, nor white-livered knights; they must be wise, hearty, hardy, men of a good stomach. Secondly, he qualificieth them with the fear of God. He saith they must be *timentis Deum*, "fearing God." For if he fear God, he shall be no briber, no perverter of judgment, faithful. Thirdly, they must be chosen officers, *in quibus est veritas*, "in whom is truth," if he say it, it shall be done. Fourthly, *qui oderunt avaritiam*, hating covetousness. Far from it; he will not come near it that hateth it. It is not he that will give five hundred pound for an

office. With these qualities, God's wisdom would have magistrates to be qualified.

This cometh from the devil's consistory, to pay five hundred pound for one office. If they pay so much it must needs follow that they take bribes, that they be bribe-takers. Such as be meet to bear office, seek them out, hire them, give them competent and liberal fees that they shall not need to take any bribes. And if ye be a selling civil offices, ye are as they which sell their benefices, and so we shall have *omnia venalia*, all things bought for money. I marvel the ground gapes not and devours us; howbeit, we ought not to marvel, surely it is the great lenity of God that suffers it. Oh Lord, in what case are we? If the great men in Turkey, should use in their religion of Mahomet to sell, as our patrons commonly sell benefices here, (the office of preaching, the office of salvation,) it should be taken as an intolerable thing; the Turk would not suffer it in his commonwealth. Patrons be charged to see the office done, and not to seek a lucre and a gain by their patronship. There was a patron in England, (when it was,) that he had a benefice fallen into his hand, and a good brother of mine came unto him, and brought him thirty apples in a dish, and gave them his man to carry them to his master. It is like he gave one to his man for his labour, to make up the game, and so there was thirty-one. This man cometh to his master and presented him with the dish of apples; saying, Sir, such a man hath sent you a dish of fruit, and desireth you to be good unto him for such a benefice. Tush, tush, quoth he, this is no apple matter; I will have none of his apples, I have as good as these, or as he hath any, in mine own orchard. The man came to the priest again, and told him what his master said. Then, quoth the priest, desire him yet to prove one of them for my sake, he shall find them much better than they look for. He cut one of them, and found ten pieces of gold in it. Marry, quoth he, this is a good apple. The priest standing not far off; hearing what the gentleman said, cried out and answered, They are all one apple, I warrant you sir; they grew all on one tree, and have all one taste. "Well, he is a good fellow, let him have it," quoth the patron. "Get you a graft of this tree, and I warrant you it will stand you in better stead than all St. Paul's learning." Well, let patrons

take heed, for they shall answer for all the souls that perish through their default. There is a saying, that there be a great many in England, that say there is no soul, that believe not in the immortality of man's soul, that think it is not eternal, but like adog's soul, that think there is neither heaven nor hell. Oh Lord, what a weighty matter is this? what a lamentable thing in a christian commonwealth? I cannot tell what they say, but I perceive by these works that they think so, or else they would never do as they do. These sellers of offices shew, that they believe that there is neither hell nor heaven: it is taken for a laughing matter.

Well, I will go on: Now to the chapter. The children of Israel came to Samuel, and said, *Senuisti*; "Thou art grown into age, give us a king; thy sons walk not in thy ways." What a heaviness was this to father Samuel's heart, to hear that his sons, whom he had so well brought up, should swerve from his ways that he had walked in? Father Samuel goeth to God, to know his will and pleasure in this matter. God answered, "Let them have a king; they have not cast away thee, but me, that I should not reign over them." This is their ground, that say a king is an odious thing, and not acceptable before the face of God. Thus they force and violate this place, to make it for their purpose; where no such thing is meant. Shew the Israelites, saith God, and testify to them a king's authority, and what a king is, and what a king will do: If that will not persuade them, I will not hear them hereafter, when they shall cry unto me.

I must needs confess, that the Jews trespassed against God in asking a king; but here is the matter, in what thing their offence stood, whether absolutely in asking a king, or in any other circumstance. It was in a circumstance; they said not, ask us a king of God; but make us a king to judge us, as all other nations have. They would have a king of their own suing, and of their own election, as though they passed not of God. In another point there was pride; they would be like the heathen, and judges under kings, as they were. Thirdly, they offended God, because they asked a king, to the injury and wrong of good father Samuel, to depose him; so this was a wrong toward Samuel. It was not with Samuel and his children, like as with Eli and his children, Hophni and Phineas.

They were cruel, who with hooks taking the flesh out of the pots, when that sacrifice was offered to God, brought the people into a contempt of God's word. They were lecherers; their sin was manifestly and notoriously known: but their father Eli knowing and hearing of it, did blame them, but nothing to the purpose; he did not earnestly, and substantially chastise them, and therefore he was justly deposed of God. The sins of Samuel's sons were not known, they were not so notorious, wherefore it was not with father Samuel as it was with Eli; his sons' faults were taking of bribes, and perverting of judgments. Ye know that bribery is a secret fault, and therefore it was not known: it was done under a colour and a pretence of justice, hiddenly, and covertly, done: therefore because it stood in bribes, it was not like in Samuel as in Eli. It is a dangerous thing to be in office; for *qui attingit picem coinquinabitur ab ea*. "He that meddleth with pitch is like to be spotted with it." Bribes may be assembled to pitch, for even as pitch doth pollute their hands that meddle with it, so bribes will bring you to perverting of justice. Beware of pitch, you judges of the world, bribes will make you pervert justice.

Why, you will say we touch none. No marry, but my mistress your wife hath a fine finger, she toucheth it for you; or else you have a servant, à *muneribus*, he will say, "If you will come to my master and offer him a yoke of oxen, you shall speed never the worse; but I think my master will take none." When he hath offered them to the master, then comes another servant and says, "If you will bring them to the clerk of the kitchen, you shall be remembered the better." This is a friarly fashion, that will receive no money in their hands, but will have it put upon their sleeves; a goodly rag of popish religion. They be like Gray Friars that will not be seen to receive bribes themselves, but have others to receive for them.

Though Samuel's sons were privy bribers, and kept the thing very close, yet the cry of the people brought it to Samuel. It was a hid kind of sin: for men in this point would face it, and brazen it, and make a shew of upright dealing, when they be most guilty. Nevertheless, this gear came out. Oh wicked sons, that brought both their father to deposition; and themselves to shame. When Samuel heard of their fault, he went not about to excuse their faults: he would not bear with

his sons, he would not *communicare peccatis alienis*, be partaker with his sons' offences; he said, *Ego senui, ecce filii mei vobiscum sunt*. As soon as he heard of it, he delivered his sons to the people to be punished.

He went not about to excuse them, nor said not this is the first time, bear with them; but presented them by and by to the people, saying, "Lo here they be, take them, do with them according to their deserts." Oh I would there were no more bearers of other men's sins, than this good father Samuel was.

I heard of late of a notable bloodshed: "*Audio*," saith St. Paul; and so do I: I know it not, but I hear of it. There was a searcher* in London, which executing his office, displeased a merchantman, insomuch that when he was doing his office they were at words: the merchantman threatened him; the searcher said, the king should not lose his custom. The merchant goes me home, and sharpens his wood-knife, and comes again and knocks him on the head, and kills him. They that told me the tale, say it is winked at; they look through their fingers and will not see it. Whether it be taken up with a pardon, or no, I cannot tell; but this I am sure, and if ye bear with such matters, the devil shall bear you away to hell.

Bloodshed and murder would have no bearing. It is a heinous thing bloodshedding, and especially voluntary murder and premeditated murder. For in Numbers, God saith, it polluteth the whole realm; *Poluitur illa terra*, &c., *et non potest expiari sine sanguine*, "The land cannot be purified nor cleansed again, till his blood be shed that shed it." It is the office of a king to see such murderers punished with death, for *non frustra gestat gladium*, "He is not to bear the sword in vain." What will you make of a king? he beareth a sword before him, not a peacock's feather. I go not about to stir you now to cruelty; but I speak against the bearing of bloodshed: this bearing must be looked upon. In certain causes of murder, such great circumstances may be, that the king may pardon a murder. But if I were worthy to be of counsel, or if I were asked mine advice, I would not have the king to pardon a voluntary murder, a premeditated murder.

* A Searcher is an officer in the customs.

I can tell where one man slew another in a township, and was attached upon the same: twelve men were impanelled: the man had friends: the sheriff laboured the bench: the twelve men stuck at it, and said, Except he would disburse twelve crowns, they would find him guilty. Means were found that the twelve crowns were paid. The quest comes in, and says, not guilty. Here was not guilty for twelve crowns.

This is a bearing, and if some of the bench were hanged, they were well served. This makes men bold to do murder and slaughter. We should reserve murdering till we come to our enemies, and the king bid us fight: he that would bestir him then, were a pretty fellow indeed. Crowns! if their crowns were shaven to the shoulders, they were served well enough.

I know where a woman was got with child, and was ashamed at the matter, and went into a secret place, where she had no woman at her travail, and was delivered of three children at a birth. She wrung their necks, and cast them into a water, and so killed her children: suddenly she was gaunt* again, and her neighbours suspecting the matter, caused her to be examined, and she granted all: Afterward she was arraigned at the bar for it, and despatched and found not guilty, through bearing of friends, and bribing of the judge: where, at the same sessions, another poor woman was hanged for stealing a few rags off a hedge, that were not worth a crown.

There was a certain gentleman, a professor of the word of God, (he sped never the better for that, ye may be sure,) who was accused for murdering of a man, whereupon he was cast into prison; and by chance, as he was in prison, one of his friends came unto him for to visit him; and he declared to his friend that he was never guilty in the murdering of the man: so he went his ways. The gentleman was arraigned and condemned; and as he went to his execution, he saw his friend's servant, and said unto him, commend me to thy master, and I pray thee tell him, I am the same man still I was when he was with me: and if thou tarry awhile, thou shalt see me die. There was suit made for this man's pardon, but it could not be gotten; belike the sheriffs or some other, bare him no good will, but he died for it. And afterward, I

* That is, reduced in person.

being in the Tower, having leave to come to the lieutenant's table, I heard him say, that there was a man hanged afterward that killed the same man for whom this gentleman was put to death. O Lord, what bearing, what bolstering of naughty matters is this in a Christian realm! I desire your majesty to remedy the matter, and God grant you to see redress in this realm in your own person. Although my lord protector, I doubt not, and the rest of the council do, in the mean while, all that lieth in them to redress things; I would such as be rulers, noblemen, and masters, should be at this point with their servants, to certify them on this sort: If any man go about to do you wrong, I will do my best to help you in your right: but if ye break the law, ye shall have justice. If ye will be man-slayers, murderers, and transgressors, look for no bearing at my hands. A strange thing. What need we in the vengeance to burden ourselves with other men's sins, have we not sins enow of our own? What need have I to burden myself with other men's sins? I have burdens and two heaps of sins, one heap of known sins, another of unknown sins. I had need to say, *Ab occultis meis munda me, Domine*, "O Lord, deliver me from my hidden and my unknown sins." Then if I bear with other men's sins, I must say: Deliver me from my other men's sins. A strange saying; from my other men's sins! Who beareth with other folks' offences, he communicateth with other folks' sins. Men have sins enough of their own, although they bear not and bolster up other men in their naughtiness. This bearing, this bolstering, and looking through their fingers, is naught. What the fair hap should I, or any else, increase my burden? My other men's sins forgive me, O Lord, a strange language; they have hid sins of their own enough, although they bear not with guiltiness of other men's sins.

Oh father Samuel would not bear his own sons, he offered his own sons to punishment, and said, *Ecce filii mei vobiscum sunt*, even at the first time, he said, "Lo here they be: I discharge myself; take them unto you: and as for my part, *Presto sum loqui coram Domino et Christo ejus*. I am here ready to answer for myself before the Lord, and his anointed. Behold, here I am, record of me before the Lord, *verum cujusquam bovem*, &c., whether I have taken any man's ox, any man's ass, or whether I have done any man wrong, or hurt any man, or

taken any bribes at any man's hand." I can commend the English translation, that doth interpret *munera*, bribes, not gifts. They answered, Nay, forsooth, we know no such things in you. *Testis est mihi Deus*, saith he, "God is witness," *Quod nihil invenieritis in manum meam*. "That you have found nought in my hands." Few such Samuels are in England, nor in the world. Why did Samuel this? Marry to purge himself, he was enforced to it, for he was wrongly deposed.

Then by this ye may perceive the fault of the Jews, for they offended not God in asking of a king, but in asking for a king to the wronging and deposition of good father Samuel. If after Samuel's death the people had asked of God a king, they had not faulted: but it is no small fault to put an innocent out of his office.

King David likewise commanded his people to be numbered, and therewith offended God grievously. Why? might he not know the number of his people? Yes, it was not the numbering of the people that offended God, for a king may number his people; but he did it of a pride, of an elation of mind, not according to God's ordinance, but as having a trust in the number of his men; this offended God. Likewise the Jews asked a king, and therewith they offended not God, but they asked him with such circumstances, that God was offended with them. It is no small fault to put a just man out of his office, and to depose him unworthily. To choose a king contrarying the ordinance of God, is a casting away of God, and not of a king. Therefore doubt not but the title of a king is a lawful thing, is a lawful title, as of other magistrates. Only let the kings take heed that they do as it becometh kings to do, that they do their office well. It is a great thing, a chargeable thing. Let them beware that they do not *communicare peccatis, alienis*, that they bear not with other men's faults, for they shall give a strait account for all that perisheth through their negligence. We perceive now what this text meaneth; It is written in the last of Judges: *In diebus illis non erat rex in Israel*. "In those days there was no king in Israel, every man did that which seemed right in his own eyes." Men were then allowed to do what they would. When men may be allowed to do what they will, then it is good to have no king at all. Here is a wonderful matter, that unpreaching prelates should be suffered

so long. They can allege for themselves seven hundred years. This while the realm had been as good to have no king. Likewise these bribing judges have been suffered of a long time: and then it was *Quasi non fuisset rex in Anglia*: "To suffer this, is as much as to say, there is no king in England." It is the duty of a king to have all states set in order to do their office.

I have troubled you too long, I will make an end. "Blessed be they that hear the word of God," but so that they follow it, and keep it in credit, in memory, not to deprave it and slander it, and bring the preachers out of credit, but that follow it in their life and live after it. He grant you all that blessing that made both you and me. *Amen.*

THE
SIXTH SERMON
PREACHED BEFORE KING EDWARD,
APRIL 12th, 1549.

ROMANS xv. 4.

Quæcunque scripta sunt ad nostram doctrinam scripta sunt.

All things that are written, they are written to be our doctrine.

WHAT doctrine is written for us in the eighth chapter of the first book of the Kings; I did partly shew unto you, most honourable audience, this day sennight, of that good man, father Samuel, that good judge, how good a man he was, what helpers and coadjutors he took unto him, to have his office well discharged. I told you also of the wickedness of his sons, how they took bribes, and lived wickedly, and by that means brought both their father and themselves to deposition: and how the people did offend God, in asking a king in father Samuel's time: and how father Samuel was put from his office, who deserved it not. I opened to you also, how father Samuel clears himself, that he knew not the faults of his sons; he was no bearer with his sons, he was sorry for it, when he heard it, but he would not bear with them in their wickedness, *fili mei vobiscum sunt*; "My sons are with you," saith he, "do with them according to their deserts. I will not maintain them, nor bear with them." After that, he clears himself at the king's feet, that the people had nothing to burthen him withal, neither money, nor money worth. In treating of that part, I chanced to shew you, what I heard of a man that was slain, and I hear say it was not well taken. Forsooth, I intended not to impair any man's estimation or honesty, and they that enforce it to that, enforce it not to my meaning. I said I heard but of such a thing, and took occasion by that that I heard, to speak against the thing that I knew to be naught,

that no man should bear with any man to the maintenance of voluntary, and prepensd murder. And I hear say since, the man was otherwise an honest man, and they that spake for him, are honest men. I am inclinable enough to credit it. I spake not because I would have any man's honesty impaired. Only I did, as St. Paul did, who hearing of the Corinthians, that there should be contentions and disorder among them, did write unto them that he heard, and thereupon by occasion of hearing, he set forth the very wholesome doctrine of the Supper of the Lord. We might not have lacked that doctrine; I tell you. Be it so, the Corinthians had no such contentions among them, as Paul wrote of; be it so, they had not misordered themselves, it was neither off, nor on, to that that Paul said: the matter lay in that, that upon hearing he would take occasion to set out the good and true doctrine. So, I did not affirm it to be true that I heard, I spake it to advertise you, to beware of bearing with wilful and prepensd murder. I would have nothing enforced against any man: this was mine intent and meaning. I do not know what ye call chance-medley in the law, it is not for my study; I am a scholar in God's book, I study that: I know what voluntary murder is before God: if I shall fall out with a man, he is angry with me, and I with him, and lacking opportunity and place, we shall put it off for that time, in the mean season I prepare my weapon, and sharp it against another time, I swell and boil in this passion towards him, I seek him, we meddle together, it is my chance by reason my weapon is better than his, and so forth, to kill him, I give him his death stroke in my vengeance and anger: this call I voluntary murder in scripture, what it is in the law, I cannot tell. It is a great sin, and therefore I call it voluntary. I remember what a great clerk writeth of this: *Omne peccatum adeo est voluntarium, ut nisi sit voluntarium non sit peccatum*: (Augustine). "Every sin saith he, is so voluntary, that if it be not voluntary, it cannot be called sin." Sin is no actual sin if it be not voluntary. I would we would all know our faults and repent; that that is done, is done; it cannot be called back again, God is merciful, the king is merciful, here we may repent, this is the place of repentance; when we are gone hence, it is too late then to repent. And let us be content with such order as the magistrates shall take, but sure it is

a perilous thing to bear with any such matter. I told you what I heard say; I would have no man's honesty impaired by my telling.

I heard say since of another murder, that a Spaniard should kill an Englishman, and run him through with his sword; they say he was a tall man, but I hear not that the Spaniard was hanged for his labour; if I had, I would have told you it too. They fell out, as the tale goeth, about a whore; oh Lord, what whoredom is used now a-days, as I hear by the relation of honest men, which tell it not after a worldly sort, as though they rejoiced at it, but heavily, with heavy hearts, how God is dishonoured by whoredom in this city of London; yea, the Bank when it stood, was never so common. If it be true that is told, it is marvel that it doth not sink, and that the earth gapeth not, and swalloweth it up.

It is wonderful that the city of London doth suffer such whoredom unpunished. God hath suffered long of his great lenity, mercy, and benignity, but he will punish sharply at the length, if we do not repent. There is some place in London, as they say, immunity, impunity, what should I call it; a privileged place for whoredom *? The lord mayor hath nothing to do there, the sheriffs they cannot meddle with it; and the quest they do not inquire of it: and there men do bring their whores, yea, other men's wives, and there is no reformation of it.

There be such dicing houses also, they say, as hath not been wont to be, where young gentlemen dice away their thrift; and where dicing is, there are other follies also. For the love of God let remedy be had, let us wrestle and strive against sin. Men of England, in times past, when they would exercise themselves, (for we must needs have some recreation, our bodies cannot endure without some exercise), they were wont to go abroad in the fields a shooting; but now it is turned into glossing, gulling, and whoring within the house. The art of shooting hath been in times past much esteemed in this realm;

* St. Martin le Grand, which at this time, as Stow says, was exempt from the jurisdiction of the Mayor of London; being a deanry subject to the Abbey of Westminster, but it was a receptacle for disorderly people of all sorts. At this time also there was in this liberty a playhouse, which was part of the old dissolved monastery of St. Martin.

it is a gift of God that he hath given us to excel all other nations withal ; it hath been God's instrument, whereby he hath given us many victories against our enemies ; but now we have taken up whoring in towns *, instead of shooting in the fields. A wondrous thing, that so excellent a gift of God should be so little esteemed : I desire you, my Lords, even as ye love the honour and glory of God, and intend to remove his indignation, let there be sent forth some proclamation, some sharp proclamation to the justices of peace, for they do not their duty : justices now be no justices. There be many good acts made for this matter already. Charge them upon their allegiance, that this singular benefit of God may be practised, and that it be not turned into bowling, glossing, and whoring within the towns ; for they be negligent in executing these laws of shooting. In my time, my poor father was as diligent to teach me to shoot, as to learn me any other thing ; and so I think other men did their children : he taught me how to draw, how to lay my body in my bow, and not to draw with strength of arms, as divers other nations do, but with strength of the body : I had my bows bought me, according to my age and strength, as I increased in them, so my bows were made bigger and bigger, for men shall never shoot well, except they be brought up in it : it is a goodly art, a wholesome kind of exercise, and much commended in physic.

* Of the manners of the youth of that time, Stowe saith, " The youth of this city have used on holydays, after evening prayer, at their masters' doors to exercise their bucklers, and the maidens one of them playing on a timbrel, in the sight of their masters and mistresses, to dance for garlands hung across the streets. Which open pastimes in my youth, being suppressed, worser practices within doors are to be feared." Again, the same honest chronicler, speaking of the sports of the youthful citizens before this change, says : " After dinner they used to go into the fields, and play at the ball. Every Friday in Lent, the young men, with disarmed lances and shields, used to practice feats of war. In Easter holydays, they used to fight battles on the water : a shield was hanged upon a pole, fixed in the midst of the stream, a boat was prepared without oars, to be carried by the violence of the water, and in the forepart thereof standeth a young man, ready to give charge with his lance : if so be he breaketh his lance against the shield, he is thought to have performed a worthy deed ; but if he chanceth to be flung into the water, then he loses his honour, and it occasioneth the spectators to laugh. In the summer season they exercised themselves in leaping, shooting, wrestling, casting the stone, and practising their shields, with many other such like feats of activity. In the winter, they never omitted the wholesome exercises of sliding, and skating on the great fen or moor, which was where Moorfields now are."—*STOWE'S Survey of London*, 4to.

Marsilius Ficinus *, in his book *De triplici vita*, (it is a great while since I read him now,) but I remember he commendeth this kind of exercise, and saith, that it wrestleth against many kinds of diseases. In the reverence of God let it be continued, let a proclamation go forth, charging the justices of peace, that they see such acts and statutes kept, as were made for this purpose.

I will to my matter: I intend this day to entreat of a piece of scripture written in the beginning of the fifth chapter of Luke. I am occasioned to take this place by a book sent to the king's majesty that dead is, by master Pole. It is a text that he doth greatly abuse, for the supremacy: He racks it, and violates it, to serve for the maintenance of the bishop of Rome. And as he did enforce the other place, that I entreated of last, so did he enforce this also, to serve his matter. The story is this:

Our Saviour Christ was come now to the bank of the water of Genezareth. The people were come to him, and flocked about him, to hear him preach. And Jesus took a boat that was standing at the pool; it was Simon's boat, and went into it. And sitting in the boat, he preached to them that were on the bank. And when he had preached and taught them, he spake to Simon, and bade him launch out further into the deep, and loose his nets to catch fish. And Simon made answer and said, Master, we have laboured all night, but we caught nothing; howbeit, at thy commandment, because thou biddest us, we will go to it again. And so they did, and caught a great draught, a miraculous draught, so much that the net brake; and they called to their fellows that were by, for they had two boats, to come to help them, and they came, and filled both their boats so full, that they were nigh drowning.

This is the story. That I may declare this text so, that it may be to the honour of God, and edification of your souls and mine both, I shall desire you to help me with your prayer, in the which, &c.

* Marsilius Ficinus, the reviver of the Platonic Philosophy, was a native of Florence, where his father was physician to Cosmo de Medici. Marsilius was bred to the same profession, but Cosmo was so pleased with him that he gave him a residence in his palace, to complete a translation of Plato's works, upon which he was employed five years. He afterwards took orders, and obtained several benefices from Lorenzo de Medici. He died in 1499.

“*Factum est autem* (saith the text) *cum turba irrueret in eum.*” St Luke tells the story, “And it came to pass, when the people pressed upon him, so that he was in peril to be cast into the pond, they rushed so fast upon him, and made such throng to him:” A wondrous thing, what a desire the people had in those days to hear our Saviour Christ preach, and the cause may be gathered, of the latter end of the chapter that went before.

Our Saviour Christ had preached unto them, and healed the sick folks of such diseases and maladies as they had, and therefore the people would have retained him still: But he made them answer, and said: *Et aliis civitatibus oportet me evangelizare regnum Dei, nam in hoc missus sum.* “I must preach the kingdom of God to other cities also: I must shew them my Father’s will, for I came for that purpose. I was sent to preach the word of God.” Our Saviour Christ said, how he must not tarry in one place: for he was sent to the world, to preach every where. Is it not a marvellous thing, that our unpreaching prelates can read this place, and yet preach no more than they do? I marvel that they can go quietly to bed, and see how he allureth them with his example to be diligent in their office. Here is a godly lesson also, how our Saviour Christ fled from glory: If these ambitious persons, that climb to honour by by-walks inordinately, would consider this example of Jesus Christ, they should come to more honour than they do, for when they seek honour by such by-walks they come to confusion; honour followeth them that flee from it. Our Saviour Christ gat him away early in the morning, and went unto the wilderness. I would they would follow this example of Christ, and not seek honour by such by-walks as they do. But what did the people, when he had hid himself? they smelled him out in the wilderness, and came unto him by flocks, and followed him a great number. But where read you that a great number of Scribes and Pharisees, and Bishops followed him? There is a doctor that writeth of this place, his name is doctor *Gorham, Nicholas Gorham**, I knew him to be a school-doctor a great while ago, but I never knew him to

* Nicholas de Gorham was an English divine, of the order of Preaching Friars, who died about the year 1400. He wrote commentaries on the New Testament, and a volume of sermons.

be an interpreter of scripture, till now of late ; he saith thus : *Major devotio in laicis vetulis quam in clericis*, &c., “ There is more devotion, (saith he) in lay-folk, and old wives, these simple folk, the vulgar people, than in the clerks : they be better affected to the word of God, than those that be of the clergy.” I marvel not at the sentence, but I marvel to find such a sentence in such a doctor. If I should say so much, it would be said to me, that it is an evil bird that defiles his own nest ; and, *Nemo leditur nisi à seipso*, “ there is no man hurt, but of his ownself.” There was verified the saying of our Saviour Christ, which he spake in another place, *Ubiunque fuerit cadaver, ibi congregabuntur aquilæ*, “ Wheresoever a dead carrion is, thither will the eagles gather.” Our Saviour Christ compares himself to a dead carrion, for where the carrion is, there will the eagles be ; and though it be an evil smell to us, and stinks in a man’s nose, yet it is a sweet smell to the eagles, they will seek it out. So the people sought out Christ, they smelt his savour, he was a sweet smell to them. He is *odor vitæ ad vitam*, the smell of life to life. They flocked about him like eagles ; Christ was the carrion and the people were the eagles. They had no pleasure to hear the Scribes and the Pharisees, they stank in their nose, their doctrine was unsavoury, it was of lolions, of decimations of aniseed and cummin, and such gear. There was no comfort in it for sore consciences, there was no consolation for wounded souls, there was no remedy for sins, as was in Christ’s doctrine : His doctrine eased the burden of the soul, it was sweet to the common people, and sour to the Scribes. It was such comfort and pleasure to them, that they came flocking about him. Wherefore came they ? *Ut audirent verbum Dei* ; it was a good coming. They came to hear the word of God.

It was not to be thought that they came all of one mind to hear the word of God ; it is likely, that in so great a multitude, some came of curiosity, to hear some novels, and some came smelling a sweet savour, to have consolation and comfort of God’s word, for we cannot be saved without hearing of the word ; it is a necessary way to salvation. “ We cannot be saved without faith, and faith cometh by hearing of the word. *Fides ex auditu*. And how shall they hear without a preacher ?” I tell you it is the footstep of the ladder of heaven ; of our salva-

tion. There must be preachers, if we look to be saved. I told you of this gradation before, in the tenth to the Romans : consider it well. I had rather ye should come of a naughty mind to hear the word of God for novelty, or for curiosity to hear some pastime, than to be away. I had rather ye should come as the tale is by the gentlewoman of London : one of her neighbours met her in the street, and said, Mistress, whither go ye? "Marry," said she, "I am going to St. Thomas of Acres* to the sermon; I could not sleep all this last night, and I am going now thither; I never failed of a good nap there." And so I had rather ye should go a napping to the sermons, than not to go at all. For with what mind soever ye come, though ye come for an ill purpose, yet peradventure ye may chance to be caught ere ye go; the preacher may chance to catch you on his hook. Rather than ye should not come at all, I would have you come of curiosity, as St. Augustine came to hear St. Ambrose. When St. Augustine came to Milan, (he tells the story himself, in the end of his book of confessions) he was very desirous to hear St. Ambrose, not for any love he had to the doctrine that he taught, but to hear his eloquence, whether it was so great as the speech was, and as the bruit went. Well, before he departed, St. Ambrose caught him on his hook, and converted him so, that he became of a Manichee†, and of a Platonist, a good christian, a defender of Christ's religion, and of the faith afterward. So I would have you to come to sermons. It is declared in many more places of scripture, how necessary preaching is, as this: *Evangelium est potentia Dei, ad salutem omni credens*, "The preaching of the gospel is the power of God to every man that doth believe." He means God's word opened, it is the instrument, and the thing whereby we are saved.

* This was an hospital in Cheapside, and situate nigh the ground whereon since has been built Mercers' Hall and Chapel. It had a master and brethren, and was sold and surrendered by Henry the Eighth to the Company of Mercers. It is called in old records St. Thomas of Acon.

† Manicheism was a compound of the various opinions of the Gnostics, Marcionites, and grosser Platonists. The principal point of this system consisted in the assertion of two counteracting principles, one of good, the other of evil. The Manichees pretended that the law of Moses came from the evil one; and, consequently, they professed only to receive the Gospels to which, however, they gave a very corrupt sense by adapting it to their peculiar fancies.

Beware, beware, ye diminish not this office, for if ye do, ye decay God's power to all that do believe. Christ saith, consonant to the same, *Nisi quis renatus fuerit è supernis, non potest videre regnum Dei*. "Except a man be born again from above, he cannot see the kingdom of God." He must have a regeneration: and what is this regeneration? It is not to be christened in water, (as these firebrands expound it,) and nothing else. How is it to be expounded then? St. Peter sheweth that one place of scripture declareth another. It is the circumstance, and collation of places, that make scripture plain. *Regeneremur autem*, saith St. Peter, "and we be born again:" How? *Non ex semine mortali, sed immortalì*, "Not by a mortal seed, but by an immortal." What is this immortal seed? *Per sermonem Dei viventis*: By the word of the living God; by the word of God preached and opened. Thus cometh in our new birth.

Here you may see how necessary this office is to our salvation. This is the thing that the devil wrestleth most against: it hath been all his study to decay this office. He worketh against it as much as he can: he hath prevailed too much, too much in it. He hath set up a state of unpreaching prelacy in this realm this seven hundred year, a state of unpreaching prelacy: he hath made unpreaching prelates, he hath stirred up by heaps to persecute this office in the title of heresy. He hath stirred up the magistrates to persecute it in the title of sedition, and he hath stirred up the people to persecute it with exprobrations and slanderous words, as by the name of new learning, strange preaching: and with impropriations he hath turned preaching into private masses. If a priest should have left mass undone on a Sunday within these ten years, all England should have wondered at it; but they might have left off the sermon twenty Sundays, and never have been blamed. And thus by these impropriations private masses were set up, and preparing of God's word trodden under foot. But what doth he now? What doth he now? He stirs men up to outrageous rearing of rents, that poor men shall not be able to find their children at the school to be divines.

What an unreasonable devil is this? He provides a great while beforehand for the time that is to come: he hath brought up now of late, the most monstrous kind of covetousness that ever

was heard of: he hath invented fee-farming of benefices*, and all to decay this office of preaching; insomuch that, when any man hereafter shall have a benefice, he may go where he will, for any house he shall have to dwell upon, or any glebe land to keep hospitality withal; but he must take up a chamber in an alehouse, and there sit to play at the tables all the day. A goodly curate.

He hath caused also, through this monstrous kind of covetousness, patrons to sell their benefices: yea what doth he more? he gets him to the University; and causeth great men and esquires, to send their sons thither, and put out poor scholars that should be divines, for their parents intend not that they shall be preachers, but that they may have a shew of learning. But it were too long to declare unto you, what deceit and means the devil hath found to decay the office of salvation, this office of regeneration.

But to return to my matter: The people came to hear the word of God, they heard him with silence. I remember now a saying of St. Chrysostom, and peradventure it might come hereafter in better place: but yet I will take it whilst it cometh to mind: the saying is this, *Et loquentem eum audierunt in silentio seriem locutionis non interrumpentes*: "They heard him," saith he, "in silence, not interrupting the order of his preaching." He means, they heard him quietly, without any shovelling of feet, or walking up and down. Surely it is an ill disorder that folk shall be walking up and down in the sermon time, (as I have seen in this place† this Lent:) and there shall be such huzzing and buzzing in the preacher's ear, that it maketh him oftentimes to forget his matter.

O let us consider the king's majesty's goodness. This place was prepared for banqueting of the body; and his majesty hath made it a place for the comfort of the soul, and to have the word of God preached in it, shewing hereby that he would have all

* Land held of another in fee, that is, for ever, to himself and his heirs, for a certain yearly rent, more or less; as to an half, third, or fourth of the value.

† A pulpit cross, like that on the south side of St. Paul's, was occasionally erected in the inner garden of the new palace at Westminster, which on such occasions was called the preaching place. It appears, by what Bishop Latimer says of the walking to and fro, and the buzzing of the people, that it was a place of common resort. The king, when present at the sermon, heard from a window, which opened fronting the preacher.

his subjects at it, if it might be possible. Consider what the king's majesty hath done for you ; he alloweth you all to hear with him. Consider where ye be. First, ye ought to have a reverence to God's word ; and though it be preached by poor men, yet it is the same word that our Saviour spake. Consider also the presence of the king's majesty ; God's high vicar in earth ; having a respect to his personage, ye ought to have reverence to it, and consider that he is God's high minister, and yet alloweth you all to be partakers with him of the hearing of God's word. This benefit of his would be thankfully taken, and it would be highly esteemed. Hear in silence, as Chrysostom saith. It may chance that some in the company may fall sick or be diseased ; if there be any such, let them go away with silence, let them leave their salutations till they come in the court, let them depart with silence. I took occasion of Chrysostom's words to admonish you of this thing.

What should be the cause, that our Saviour Christ went into the boat ? The scripture calleth it *navis* or *navicula*, a ship, a little ship. But it was no ship, it was a fisher's boat ; they were not able to have a ship. What should be the cause, why he would not stand on the bank and preach there, but he desired Peter to draw the boat somewhat from the shore into the midst of the water ; what should be the cause ? One cause was, for that he might sit there more commodiously, than on the bank : another cause was, for that he was like to be thrust into the pond of the people that came unto him. Why ; our Saviour Christ might have withstood them, he was strong enough to have kept himself from thrusting into the water. He was stronger than they all, and if he had listed he might have stood on the water, as well as he walked on the water. Truth it is, so might he have done indeed. But as it was sometime his pleasure to shew the power of his godhead, so be declared now the infirmity and imbecility of his manhood.

Here he giveth us an example what we shall do : we must not tempt God by any miracles ; so long as we may walk by ordinary ways. As our Saviour Christ, when the devil had him on the top of the temple, and would have had him cast himself down, he made him this answer : *Non tentabis Dominum Deum tuum*. "Thou shalt not tempt thy Lord God:" as if he should have said, we may not tempt God at all. It is no time

now to shew any miracles : there is another way to go down by greesings*. Thus he did shew us an example, that we must not tempt God, except it be in extreme necessity, and when we cannot otherwise remedy the matter, to leave it all to God, else we may not tempt the majesty of his deity : Beware of tempting God. Well, he comes to Simon's boat, and why rather to Simon's boat than another? I will answer, as I find in experience in myself. I came hither to-day from Lambeth in a wherry; and when I came to take boat, the watermen came about me, as the manner is, and he would have me, and he would have me : I took one of them. Now ye will ask me why I came in that boat, rather than in another? Because I would go into that that I see stand next me, it stood more commodiously for me. And so did Christ by Simon's boat : It stood nearer for him, he saw a better seat in it. A good natural reason.

Now come the papists, and they will make a mystery of it : they will pick out the supremacy of the bishop of Rome in Peter's boat. We may make allegories enough of every place in scripture : but surely it must needs be a simple matter that standeth on so weak a ground. But ye shall see further : He desired Peter to thrust out his boat from the shore. He desired him. Here was a good lesson, for the bishop of Rome, and all his college of cardinals, to learn humility and gentleness. *Rogabat eum.* He desired him, it was gently done of him, without any austerity, but with all urbanity, mildness, and softness, and humility. What an example is this that he giveth them here ! But they spy it not, they can see nothing but the supremacy of the bishop of Rome. A wondrous thing what sight they have : They see nothing but the supremacy of the bishop of Rome. *Imperabatis ovibus meis,* saith Ezekiel, *cum avaritia, et austeritate, et dispersem sunt absque pastore.* "Ye have ruled my sheep, and commanded them with great lordliness, austerity, and power : and thus ye have dispersed my sheep abroad." And why? There was no shepherd, they had wanted one a great while. Rome hath been many a hundred years without a good shepherd. They would not learn to rule them gently ; they had rule over them, but it was with cursings, excommunications, with great austerity and

* An old word, signifying slowly, and carefully, descending by steps,

thunderbolts, and the devil and all, to maintain their unpreaching prelacy. I beseech God open their eyes, that they may see the truth, and not be blinded with those things that no man can see but they. It followeth in the text, *Sedens docebat de navi*. "He taught sitting." Preachers, belike, were sitters in those days, as it is written in another place, *Sedent in cathedra Moſis*. "They sit in the chair of Moſes."

I would our preachers would preach ſitting or ſtanding, one way or other. It was a goodly pulpit that our Saviour Chriſt had gotten him here: an old rotten boat, and yet he preached his Father's will, his Father's meſſage out of this pulpit. He cared not for the pulpit, ſo he might do the people good. Indeed it is to be commended for the preacher to ſtand or ſit, as the place is; but I would not have it ſo ſuperſtitiously eſteemed, but that a good preacher may declare the word of God ſitting on a horſe, or preaching in a tree*. And yet if this ſhould be done, the unpreaching prelates would laugh it to ſcorn. And though it be good to have the pulpit ſet up in churches, that the people may reſort thither, yet I would not have it ſo ſuperſtitiously uſed, but that in a profane place the word of God might be preached ſometimes, and I would not have the people offended withal, no more than they be with our Saviour Chriſt's preaching out of a boat. And yet to have pulpits in churches, it is very well done to have them; but they would be occupied, for it is a vain thing to have them as they ſtand in many churches.

I heard of a biſhop of England that went on viſitation, and as it was the cuſtom, when the biſhop ſhould come, and be rung into the town, the great bell's clapper was fallen down, the tyall was broken, ſo that the biſhop could not be rung into the town. There was a great matter made of this, and the chief of the pariſh were much blamed for it, in the viſitation. The biſhop was ſomewhat quick with them, and ſignified that he was much offended. They made their answers, and excuſed themſelves, as well as they could: it was a chance, ſaid they, that the clap-

* In the time of Ket's rebellion in Norfolk, Dr. Matthew Parker, afterwards archbiſhop of Canterbury, got up into the oak that was called the tree of reformation, and preached a ſermon to the insurgents, exhorting them to return to their duty.

per brake, and we could not get it mended by and by, we must tarry till we can have it done. It shall be amended as shortly as may be.

Among the other, there was one wiser than the rest, and he comes me to the bishop. "Why," my lord, saith he, "doth your lordship make so great a matter of the bell that lacketh his clapper? Here is a bell, saith he, and pointed to the pulpit, that hath lacked a clapper this twenty years. We have a parson that fetcheth out of this benefice fifty pound every year, but we never see him."

I warrant you the bishop was an unpreaching prelate. He could find fault with the bell that wanted a clapper to ring him into the town, but he could not find any fault with the parson that preached not at his benefice. Ever this office of preaching hath been least regarded, it hath scant had the name of God's service. They must sing "*Salve festa dies*," about the church, that no man was the better for it, but to shew their gay coats and garments.

I came once myself to a place, riding on a journey homeward from London, and I sent word over night into the town that I would preach there in the morning, because it was holiday, and methought it was an holiday's work. The church stood in my way, and I took my horse and my company, and went thither. I thought I should have found a great company in the church, and when I came there, the church door was fast locked. I tarried there half an hour and more; at last the key was found, and one of the parish comes to me and says, "Sir, this is a busy day with us, we cannot hear you; it is Robin Hood's day. The parish are gone abroad to gather for Robin Hood: I pray you let them not." I was fain there to give place to Robin Hood: I thought my rochet should have been regarded, though I were not: but it would not serve, it was fain to give place to Robin Hood's men.

It is no laughing matter, my friends, it is a weeping matter, a heavy matter; under the pretence of gathering for Robin Hood, a traitor, and a thief, to put out a preacher, to have his office less esteemed; to prefer Robin Hood before the ministration of God's word: and all this hath come of unpreaching prelates. This realm hath been ill provided for, that it hath

had such corrupt judgments in it, to prefer Robin Hood to God's word. If the bishops had been preachers, there should never have been any such thing; but we have a good hope of better. We have had a good beginning, I beseech God to continue it. But I tell you, it is far wide that the people have such judgments; the bishops they could laugh at it. What was that to them? They would have them to continue in their ignorance still, and themselves in unpreaching prelacy.

Well, sitting, sitting: "He sat down and taught." The text doth tell us that he taught, but it doth not tell us what he taught. If I were a papist, I could tell what he said; I would in the Pope's judgment shew what he taught. For the bishop of Rome hath in *scrinio pectoris sui*, the true understanding of scriptures: if he call a council, the college of cardinals, he hath authority to determine the Supper of the Lord, as he did at the council of Florence*. And Pope Nicolas, and bishop Lanfrank, shall come and expound this place, and say, that our Saviour Christ said thus: "Peter, I do mean this by sitting in thy boat, that thou shalt go to Rome, and be bishop there, five-and-twenty years after mine ascension; and all thy successors shall be rulers of the universal church after thee."

Here would I place also holy water, and holy bread, and all unwritten verities, if I were a papist; and, that scripture is not to be expounded by any private interpretation, but by our holy father, and his college of cardinals. This is a great deal better place than *Duc in altum*, "Launch into the deep." But what was Christ's sermon? it may soon be gathered what it was. He is always like himself. His first sermon was *Penitentiam agite*. "Do penance; your living is naught; repent." Again, at Nazareth; when he read in the temple, and preached remission of sins, and healing of wounded consciences; and in the long sermon in the mount, he was always like himself, he never dissented from himself.

O there is a writer hath a jolly text here; and his name is Dionysius†: I chanced to meet with his book in my lord of

* The council of Florence was held in 1439, under the Emperor Albertus, by Pope Eugenius IV., in which it was determined to use unleavened bread in the sacrament.

† Dionysius, or Denys the Carthusian, was commonly called De Rikel, from the place of his birth, in the diocese of Liege. He entered among the Carthusians,

Canterbury's library; he was a monk of the Charterhouse. I marvel to find such a sentence in that author. What taught Christ in this sermon? Marry, saith he, it is not written. And he addeth more unto it; *Evangelistæ tantum scripserunt de sermonibus et miraculis Christi quantum cognoverunt inspirante Deo sufficere ad ædificationem ecclesiæ ad confirmationem fidei, et ad salutem animarum.* It is true, it is not written; all his miracles were not written, so neither were all his sermons written: yet for all that, the evangelists did write so much as was necessary. They wrote so much of the miracles and sermons of Christ, as they knew by God's inspiration to be sufficient for the edifying of the church, the confirmation of our faith, and the health of our souls." If this be true, as it is indeed, where be unwritten verities? I marvel not at the sentence, but to find it in such an author. Jesus! what authority he gives to God's word. But God would that such men should be witness with the authority of his book, will they, nill they. Now to draw towards an end.

It followeth in the text, *Duc in altum.* Here cometh in the supremacy of the bishop of Rome. When our Saviour Christ had made an end of his sermon, and had fed their souls, he provided for their bodies. First, he began with the soul, Christ's word is the food of it. Now he goeth to the body; he hath charge of them both: we must commit the feeding of the body and of the soul to him. Well, he saith to Peter, *Duc in altum*, "Launch into the depth, put forth thy boat farther into the deep of the water; loose your nets; now fish." As who should say, Your souls are now fed, I have taught you my doctrine, now I will confirm it with a miracle. Lo, Sir, here is *Duc in altum*; here Peter was made a great man, say the papists, and all his successors after him. And this is derived of these few words, "Launch into the deep." And their argument is this: he spake to Peter only, and he spake to him in the singular number; *ergo* he gave him such a pre-eminence

in the year 1423, and died in 1471, with the reputation of a saint, insomuch that he obtained the name of the "Ecstatic Doctor." He wrote a number of books in a very simple style, but his manner of explaining the scripture was more sober than might be expected from a mystic divine.—DUPIN. *Eccles. Hist. Moreri.*

above the rest. A goodly argument, I ween it be a syllogismus, "*in quem terra pontus,*" I will make a like argument.

Our Saviour Christ said to Judas when he was about to betray him, *Quod facis fac citius*, "What thou doest, do quickly." Now when he spake to Peter, there were none of his disciples by, but James and John, but when he spake to Judas they were all present. Well, he said unto him, *Quod facis fac citius*, speed thy business that thou hast in thy head, do it. He gave him here a secret monition, that he knew what he intended, if Judas had had grace to have taken it, and repented. He spake in the singular number to him; *ergo* he gave him some pre-eminence. Belike he made him a cardinal; and it might full well be, for they have followed Judas ever since.

Here is as good a ground for the college of cardinals, as the other is for the supremacy of the bishop of Rome. Our Saviour Christ, say they, spake only to Peter for pre-eminence, because he was chief of the apostles, and you can shew none other cause; *ergo* this is the cause why he spake to him in the singular number. I dare say there is never a wherriman at Westminster-bridge, but he can answer to this, and give a natural reason of it. He knoweth that one man is able to shove the boat, but one man was not able to cast out the nets, and therefore he said in the plural number, *Laxate retia*, "Loose your nets:" and he said in the singular number to Peter, "Launch out the boat:" Why? because he was able to do it. But he spake the other in the plural number, because he was not able to convey the boat, and cast out the nets too. One man could not do it. This would the wherriman say, and that with better reason, than to make such a mystery of it, as no man can spy but they. And the cause why he spake to all, was to shew, that he will have all Christian men to work for their living. It is he that sends food both for the body and soul, but he will not send it without labour. He will have all Christian people to labour for it; he will use our labour as a mean whereby he sendeth our food.

This was a wondrous miracle of our Saviour Christ, and he did it not only to allure them to his discipleship, but also for our commodity. It was a seal, a seal to seal his doctrine withal. Now ye know that such as be keepers of seals, as my lord chancellor, and such other, whatsoever they be, they do not always

seal, they have a sealing time : for I have heard poor men complain, that they have been put off from time to time of sealing, till all their money were spent. And as they have times to seal in, so our Saviour Christ had his time of sealing. When he was here in earth with his apostles, and in the time of the primitive church, Christ's doctrine was sufficiently sealed already with seals of his own making ; what should our seals do ? What need we to seal his seal ? it is a confirmed doctrine already.

O Luther, when he came into the world first, and disputed against the Decretals*, the Clementines, Alexandrines, Extravagantines, what ado had he ! But ye will say, peradventure he was deceived in some things. I will not take upon me to defend him in all points. I will not stand to it, that all that he wrote was true ; I think he would not so himself. For there is no man but he may err. He came to further and further knowledge : (but surely he was a goodly instrument), well, I say, when he preached first they call upon him to do miracles : they were wrought before, and so we need to do no miracles. Indeed when the popish prelates preached first, they had need of miracles, and the devil wrought some in the preaching of purgatory. But what kind of miracles these were, all England doth know ; but it will not know. A wonderful thing that the people will continue in their blindness and ignorance still. We have great utility of the miracles of our Saviour Jesus Christ. He doth signify unto us by this wonderful work that he is Lord as well of the water as of the land. A good comfort for those that be on the water, when they be in any tempest, or danger, to call upon him.

The fish here came at his commandment. Here we may learn that all things in the water are subject to Christ. Peter said, " Sir, we have laboured all night, and have not caught one fin, howbeit, at your word we will to it afresh." By this it appeareth that the gain, the lucre, the revenues that we get,

* The decretals are the epistles ascribed to several of the early popes, of which Gregory IX. made a collection down to 1150. In 1230 another series appeared : and afterwards Clement V. made a more ample one, which on that account obtained his name. To these were added the letters of Alexander IV., and next came forth the Extravagants, so called because they were not contained in the body of civil law.

must not be imputed to our labour; we may not say, gramercy labour; it is not our labour, it is our Saviour Christ that sendeth us living: yet must we labour, for he that said to Peter labour, and he that bad the fishers labour, bids all men to labour in their business. There be some people that ascribe their gains, their increase gotten by any faculty, to the devil. Is there any, trow ye, in England would say so? Now if any man should come to another, and say he got his living by the devil, he would fall out with him. There is not a man in England that so saith, yet is there some that think it. For all that get it with false buying and selling, with circumvention. with usury, impostures, mixt wares, false weights, deceiving their lords and masters, all those that get their goods on this fashion, what do they think, but that the devil sends them gains and riches? For they be his, being unlawfully gotten; what is this to say, but that the devil is author of their gains, when they be so gotten? for God inhibits them. *Deus non volens iniquitatem tuis*, "God will no iniquity." These folk are greatly deceived.

There be some again impute all to their labours and works. Yea, on the holy day, they cannot find in their hearts to come to the temple to the blessed communion, they must be working at home. These are wide again on the other side. And some there be that think, if they work nothing at all, they shall have enough: they will have no good exercise, but gape, and think God will send meat into their mouths; and these are far wide: they must work: he bad the fishers work. Our Saviour Christ bad Peter work; and he that said so to them, says the same to us, every man in his art. *Benedictio Dei facit divitem*, "The blessing of God maketh a man rich. He lets his sun shine upon the wicked, as well as upon the good; he sends riches both to good and bad." But this blessing turns to them into a malediction, and a curse, it increaseth their damnation. St. Paul, writing to the Thessalonians, did put an order how every man should work in his vocation, *Cum essemus apud vos, hoc præcipiebamus vobis, ut si quis nollet operari is nec edat*, "When I was among you (saith he) I made this ordinance, that whosoever would not do the work of his vocation, should have no meat." It were a good ordinance in a commonweal, that every man should be set on work, every

man in his vocation. "Let him have no meat;" Now he saith furthermore, *Audivimus quosdam inter vos versantes inordinate nihil operis facientes*, "I hear say there be some amongst you that live inordinately." What is that word inordinately? Idly, giving themselves to no occupation for their living. *Curiosæ agentes*, curious men, given to curiosity, to searching what other men do. St. Paul saith, "he heard say;" he could not tell whether it were so or no. But he took occasion of hearing say, to set out a good and wholesome doctrine: *His autem qui sunt ejusmodi præcipimus et obsecramus*, "We command, and desire you for the reverence of God, if there be any such, that they will do the works of their vocation, and go quietly to their occupation, and so eat their own bread;" else it is not their own, it is other men's meat. Our Saviour Christ, before he began his preaching, lived of his occupation, he was a carpenter, and gat his living with great labour.

Therefore let no man disdain, or think scorn to follow him, in a mean living, a mean vocation, or a common calling and occupation. For as he blessed our nature with taking upon him the shape of man, so in his doing he blessed all occupations and arts. This is a notable example to signify, that he abhors all idleness. When he was a carpenter, then he went and did the work of his calling; and when he was a preacher, he did the works of that calling. He was no unpreaching prelate. The bishop of Rome should have learned that of him. And these gainers with false arts, what be they? They are never content with what they have, though it be never so much. And they that are true dealers, are satisfied with that that God sends, though it be never so little, *Questio magnus pietas cum animo sua sorte contento*, "Godliness is great gain, it is lucre enough, it is vantage enough, to be content with that, that God sends." The faithful cannot lack, the unfaithful is ever lacking, though he have never so much.

I will now make an end. *Labores manuum tuarum*, Let us all labour. Christ teacheth us to labour, yea, the bishop of Rome himself, he teacheth him to labour, rather than to be head of the church. Let us put our trust in God, "Cast thy care upon the Lord, and he will nourish thee and feed thee." Again, the prophet saith, *Nunquam vidi justum derelictum, nec semen ejus quærens panem*, "I never saw the

righteous man forsaken, nor his seed to seek his bread." It is infidelity, infidelity that mars all together.

Well, to my text; *Labores manuum tuarum quia manducabis, beatus es, et bene tibi erit*, "Because thou eatest the labours of thy hands, that God sends thee of thy labour." Every man must labour, yea, though he be a king, yet he must labour: for I know no man hath a greater labour than a king. What is his labour? to study God's book, to see that there be no unpreaching prelates in his realm, nor bribing judges; to see to all estates; to provide for the poor; to see victuals good cheap. Is not this a labour, trow ye? Thus if thou dost labour, exercising the works of thy vocation, thou eatest the meat that God sends thee; and then it followeth, *Beatus es*, "Thou art a blessed man in God's favour," *et bene tibi erit*, and it shall go well with thee in this world, both in body and soul, for God provideth for both. How shalt thou provide for thy soul? Go hear sermons. How for the body? Labour in thy vocation, and then shall it be well with thee, both here and in the world to come, through the faith and merits of our Saviour Jesus Christ: to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be praise for ever and ever, world without end. *Amen.*

THE
SEVENTH SERMON
PREACHED BEFORE KING EDWARD,
APRIL 19th.

ROMANS xv. 4.

Quæcunque scripta sunt ; ad nostram doctrinam scripta sunt.

All things that be written, they be written to be our doctrine.

BY occasion of this text, most honourable audience, I have walked this Lent in the broad field of scripture, and used my liberty, and entreated of such matters as I thought meet for this auditory. I have had ado with many estates, even with the highest of all. I have entreated of the duty of kings, of the duty of magistrates and judges, of the duty of prelates; and allowing that that is good, and disallowing the contrary. I have taught that we are all sinners; I think there is none of us all, neither preacher nor hearer, but we may be amended, and redress our lives: We may all say, yea, all the pack of us, *Peccavimus cum patribus nostris*, "We have offended and sinned with our forefathers," *in multis offendimus omnes*, there is none of us all, but we have in sundry things grievously offended almighty God. I here entreated of many faults, and rebuked many kinds of sins. I intend to-day, by God's grace, to shew you the remedy of sin. We be in the place of repentance, now is the time to call for mercy; whilst we be in this world, we be all sinners, even the best of us all. Therefore it is good to hear the remedy of sin.

This day is commonly called Good-Friday: although every day ought to be with us Good-Friday, yet this day we are accustomed specially to have a commemoration and remembrance of the passion of our Saviour Jesus Christ. This day we have in

memory his bitter passion and death, which is the remedy of our sin. Therefore I intend to entreat of a piece of a story of his passion; I am not able to entreat of all. That I may do that the better, and that it may be to the honour of God, and the edification of your souls, and mine both, I shall desire you to pray, &c. In this prayer I will desire you to remember the souls departed, with lauds and praise to almighty God, and that he would vouchsafe to assist the dying at the hour of their death: In so doing you shall be put in remembrance to pray for yourselves, that it may please God to assist and comfort you in the agonies and pains of death.

The place that I will entreat of, is the twenty-sixth chapter of St. Matthew. Howbeit, as I entreat of it, I will borrow part of St. Mark, and part of St. Luke: for they have somewhat, that St. Matthew hath not: and especially Luke. The text is, *Tunc cum venisset Jesus in villam, quæ dicitur Gethsemani*, "Then when Jesus came;" some have IN VILLAM, some IN AGRUM, some IN PRÆDIUM. But it is all one; when Christ came into a grange, into a piece of land, into a field, it makes no matter; call it what ye will. At what time he had come into an honest man's house, and there eaten his paschal lamb, and instituted and celebrated the Lord's supper, and set forth the blessed communion; then when this was done, he took his way to the place, where he knew Judas would come. It was a solitary place, and thither he went with his eleven apostles: For Judas, the twelfth, was about his business, he was occupied about his merchandise, and was providing among the bishops and priests, to come with an ambushment of Jews, to take our Saviour Jesu Christ.

And when he was come into the field or grange, this village, or ~~farm~~-place which was called Gethsemane, there was a garden, saith Luke, ~~into~~ the which he goeth and leaves eight of his disciples without; howbeit he appointed them what they should do. He saith, *Sedete hic donec illuc vadam et orem*, "Sit you here, whilst I go yonder and pray." He told them, that he went to pray, to monish them what they should do, to fall to prayer as he did. He left them there, and took no more with him but three, Peter, James, and John, to teach us that a solitary place is meet for prayer. Then when he was come into this garden, *capit expavescere*, "He began to tremble,"

insomuch that he said, *Tristis est anima mea usque ad mortem*, "My soul is heavy and pensive even unto death."

This is a notable place, and one of the most especial and chiefest of all that be in the story of the passion of Christ. Here is our remedy: Here we must have in consideration all his doings and sayings, for our learning, for our edification, for our comfort and consolation.

First of all, he set his three disciples that he took with him in an order, and told them what they should do, saying; *Sedete hic, et vigilate, mecum et orate*, "Sit here, and pray that ye enter not into temptation." But of that I will entreat afterward. Now when he was in the garden, *Cæpit expavescere*, he began to be heavy, pensive, heavy-hearted. I like not Origen's playing with this word *cæpit*; it was a perfect heaviness: it was such a one as was never seen the greater, it was not merely the beginning of a sorrow.

These Doctors, we have great cause to thank God for them, but yet I would not have them always to be allowed. They have handled many points of our faith very godly; and we may have a great stay in them in many things; we might not well lack them: but yet I would not have men to be sworn to them; and so addict, as to take hand over head whatsoever they say: it were a great inconvenience so to do.

Well, let us go forward. He took Peter, James, and John, into this garden. And why did he take them with him, rather than other? Marry, those that he had taken before, to whom he had revealed in the hill the transfiguration, and declaration of his deity, to see the revelation of the majesty of his godhead, now in the garden he revealed to the same the infirmity of his manhood: because they had tasted of the sweet, he would they should taste also of the sour. He took these with him at both times: for two or three is enough to bear witness. And he began to be heavy in his mind; He was greatly vexed within himself, he was sore afflicted, it was a great heaviness. He had been heavy many times before; and he had suffered great afflictions in his soul, as for the blindness of the Jews, and he was like to suffer more pangs of pain in his body. But this pang was greater than any he ever suffered: yea, it was a greater torment unto him, I think a greater pain than when he was hanged on the cross, than when the four nails were knocked

and driven through his hands and feet, than when the sharp crown of thorns was thrust on his head. This was the heaviness and pensiveness of his heart, the agony of the spirit. And as the soul is more precious than the body, even so are the pains of the soul more grievous than the pains of the body : Therefore there is another which writeth, *Horror mortis gravior ipsa morte*, "The horror and irksomeness of death, is sorer than death itself." This is the most grievous pain that ever Christ suffered, even this pang that he suffered in the garden. It is the most notable place, one of them in the whole story of the passion, when he said, *Anima mea tristis est, usque ad mortem*, "My soul is heavy to death." And *cum cepisset expavescere*, "when he began to quiver, to shake." The grievousness of it is declared by this prayer that he made, *Pater, si possibile est, &c.*, "Father, if it be possible, away with this cup: rid me of it." He understood by this cup his pains of death ; for he knew well enough, that his passion was at hand, that Judas was coming upon him with the Jews to take him.

There was offered unto him now the image of death, the image, the sense, the feeling of hell : for death and hell go both together. I will entreat of this image of hell, which is death. Truly no man can shew it perfectly, yet I will do the best I can, to make you understand the grievous pangs that our Saviour Christ was in, when he was in the garden. As man's power is not able to bear it, so no man's tongue is able to express it. Painters paint death like a man without skin, and a body having nothing but bones. And hell they paint with horrible flames of burning fire : they bungle somewhat at it, they come nothing near it. But this is no true painting. No painter can paint hell, unless he could paint the torment and condemnation both of body and soul ; the possession and having of all infelicity. This is hell, this is the image of death : this is hell, such an evil-favoured face, such an ugly countenance, such an horrible visage our Saviour Christ saw of death and hell in the garden. There is no pleasure in beholding of it, but more pain than any tongue can tell. Death and hell took unto them this evil-favoured face of sin, and through sin. This sin is so highly hated of God, that he doth pronounce it worthy to be punished with lack of all felicity, with the feeling of infelicity. Death and hell be not only the wages, the

reward, the stipend of sin : but they are brought into the world by sin, *Per peccatum mors*, saith St. Paul, "through sin death entered into the world." Moses sheweth the first coming in of it into the world : whereas our first father Adam was set at liberty to live for ever, yet God inhibiting him from eating of the apple, told him : " If thou meddle with this fruit, thou and all thy posterity shall fall into necessity of death, from ever living ; *Morte morieris*, thou and all thy posterity shall be subject to death." Here came in death and hell ; sin was their mother ; therefore they must have such an image as their mother sin would give them.

An irksome thing and an horrible image, must it needs be that is brought in by such a thing so hated of God ; yea, this face of death and hell is so terrible, that such as have been wicked men, had rather be hanged than abide it. As Achitophel, that traitor to David, like an ambitious wretch, thought to have come to higher promotion ; and therefore conspired with Absalom against his master David. He, when he saw his counsel took no place, goes and hangs himself, in contemplation of this evil-favoured face of death. Judas also, when he came with ambushments to take his master Christ, in beholding this horrible face, hanged himself. Yea the elect people of God, the faithful, having the beholding of his face, (though God hath always preserved them, such a good God he is to them that believe in him, that " he will not suffer them to be tempted above that that they are able to bear ;") yet for all that, there is nothing that they complain more sore than of this horror of death. Go to Job, what saith he ? *Pereat dies in quo natus sum, suspendium elegit anima mea*, " Wo worth the day that I was born in, my soul would be hanged," saying in his pangs almost he wist not what. This was when with the eye of his conscience, and the inward man, he beheld the horror of death and hell ; not for any bodily pain he suffered ; for when he had boils, blotches, blains, and scabs, he suffered them patiently : he could say then, *Si bona suscepisti, de manu Domini*, &c., " If we have received good things of God, why should we not suffer likewise evil ?"

It was not for any such thing, that he was so vexed : but the sight of this face of death and hell was offered to him so lively, that he would have been out of this world. It was this evil-

favoured face of death that so troubled him. King David also said, in contemplation of this uglisome face, *Laboravi in gemitu meo*, "I have been sore vexed with sighing and mourning, *Turbatus est à furore oculus meus*, Mine eye hath been greatly troubled in my rage." A strange thing; when he had to fight with Goliath, that monstrous giant, who was able to have eaten him, he could abide him, and was nothing afraid. And now what a work? What exclamations makes he at the sight of death? Jonas likewise was bold enough to bid the shipmen cast him into the sea, he had not seen that face and visage: but when he was in the whale's belly, and had there the beholding of it, what terror and distress abode he? Hezekiah when he saw Sennacherib besieging his city on every side, most violently, was nothing afraid of the great host, and mighty army that was like to destroy him out of hand, yet he was afraid of death. When the prophet came unto him, and said: *Dispone domui tuæ morte morieris, et non vives*, "Set thy house in order, for thou shalt surely die, and not live," (2 Kings xx.), it struck him so to the heart that he fell a weeping. O Lord, what an horror was this? There be some writers that say, that Peter, James, and John, were in this feeling at the same time; and that Peter, when he said, *Exi à me, Domine, quia nemo peccatur sum*. "Depart from me, O Lord, for I am a sinful man," did taste some part of it: he was so astonished, he wist not what to say. It was not long that they were in this anguish; some say longer, some shorter: but Christ was ready to comfort them, and said to Peter, *Ne timeas*, "Be not afraid." A friend of mine told me of a certain woman, that was eighteen years together in it. I knew a man myself, Bilney, little Bilney, that blessed martyr of God, what time he had borne his fagot, and was come again to Cambridge, had such conflicts within himself, beholding this image of death, that his friends were afraid to let him be alone: they were fain to be with him day and night, and comforted him as they could, but no comforts would serve. As for the comfortable places of scripture, to bring them unto him, it was as though a man would run him through the heart with a sword: yet afterward, for all this, he was revived, and took his death patiently, and died well against the tyrannical see of Rome. Wo will be to that bishop, that had the examination of him, if he repented not.

Here is a good lesson for you, my friends ; if ever you come in danger, in durance, in prison for God's quarrel, and his sake (as he did for purgatory matters, and put to bear a fagot for preaching the true word of God against pilgrimage, and such like matters,) I will advise you first, and above all things, to abjure all your friends, all your friendships, leave not one unabjured : it is they that shall undo you, and not your enemies.

It was his very friends that brought Bilney to it. By this it may somewhat appear what our Saviour Christ suffered ; he doth not dissemble it himself, when he saith : " My soul is heavy to death : " he was in so sore an agony, that there issued out of him, as I shall entreat anon, drops of blood.

An irksome thing surely, which this fact and deed sheweth us, what horrible pains he was in for our sakes. But you will say, How can this be ? It were possible that I, and such other as be great sinners, should suffer such affliction : but the Son of God, our Saviour Christ, who never sinned, how can this stand, that he should be thus handled ? He never deserved it.

Marry, I will tell you how ; we must consider our Saviour Christ two ways, one way in his manhood, another in his godhead. Some places of scripture must be referred to his Deity, and some to his humanity. In his godhead he suffered nothing, but now he made himself void of his Deity ; as scripture saith, *Cum esset in forma Dei, exinanivit seipsum*, " Whereas he was in the form of God, he emptied himself of it, he did hide it, and used himself as though he had not had it ; " he would not help himself with his godhead ; " he humbled himself with all obedience unto death, even to the death of the cross : " this was in that he was man, he took upon him our sins. Not the work of sin, I mean not so, not to do it, not to commit it, but to purge it, to cleanse it, to bear the stipend of it : and that way he was the great sinner of the world ; he bare all the sin of the world on his back ; he would become debtor for it.

Now to sustain and suffer the dolours of death, is not to sin : but he came into this world with his passion to purge our sins. Now this that he suffered in the garden is one of the bitterest pieces of all his passion : this fear of death, was the bitterest pain that ever he abode, due to sin which he never did, but

became debtor for us. All this he suffered for us; this he did to satisfy for our sins.

It is much like as if I owed another man twenty thousand pounds, and should pay it out of hand, or else go to the dungeon of Ludgate; and when I am going to prison, one of my friends should come, and ask, Whither goeth this man? And after he had heard the matter, should say, Let me answer for him, I will become surety for him. Yea, I will pay all for him.

Such a part played our Saviour Christ with us. If he had not suffered this, I for my part should have suffered, according to the gravity and quantity of my sins, damnation. For the greater the sin is, the greater is the punishment in hell. He suffered for you and me, in such a degree as is due to all the sins of the whole world. It was as if you would imagine, that one man had committed all the sins since Adam: you may be sure, he should be punished with the same horror of death, in such a sort as all men in the world should have suffered.

Fain, and put case our Saviour Christ, had committed all the sins of the world: all that I for my part have done, all that you for your part have done, and that any man else hath done; if he had done all this himself, his agony that he suffered should have been no greater nor grievouser, than it was. This that he suffered in the garden, was a portion I say of his passion, and one of the bitterest parts of it. And this he suffered for our sins, and not for any sins he committed himself: for all we should have suffered, every man according to his own deserts.

This he did of his goodness, partly to purge and cleanse our sins, partly because he would taste and feel our miseries, *Quo possit succurrere nobis*, "That he should the rather help and relieve us;" and partly he suffered to give us example to behave ourselves as he did. He did not suffer, to discharge us clean from death, to keep us clean from it, not to taste of it. Nay, nay, you must not take it so. We shall have the beholding of this uglisome face every one of us, we shall feel it ourselves.

Yet our Saviour Christ did suffer, to the intent, to signify to us, that death is overcomeable. We shall indeed overcome it, if we repent, and acknowledge that our Saviour Jesu Christ

pacified with his pangs and pains the wrath of the Father ; having a love to walk in the ways of God ; if we believe in Jesu Christ, we shall overcome death : I say it shall not prevail against us.

Wherefore, whensoever it chanceth thee, my friend, to have the tasting of this death, that thou shalt be tempted with this horror of death, what is to be done then ? whensoever thou feelest thy soul heavy to death, make haste and resort to this garden : and with this faith thou shalt overcome this terror when it cometh.

Oh, it was a grievous thing that Christ suffered here. Oh, the greatness of this dolor that he suffered in the garden, partly to make amends for our sins, and partly to deliver us from death ; not so that we should not die bodily, but that this death should be a way to a better life, and to destroy and overcome hell. Our Saviour Christ had a garden, but he had little pleasure in it. You have many goodly gardens, I would you would in the midst of them consider what agony our Saviour Christ suffered in his garden. A goodly meditation to have in your gardens. It shall occasion you to delight no farther in vanities, but to remember what he suffered for you. It may draw you from sin : It is a good monument, a good sign, a good monition, to consider how he behaved himself in this garden.

Well ; he saith to his disciples, " Sit here and pray with me." He went a little way off, as it were a stone's cast from them, and falleth to his prayer, and saith, *Pater, si possibile est, transeat à me calix iste*, " Father, if it be possible, away with this bitter cup, this outrageous pain." Yet after he corrects himself, and says, "*Veruntamen non sicut ego volo, sed sicut tu vis*. " Not my will, but thy will be done, O Father." Here is a good meditation for Christian men, at all times, and not only upon Good-Friday : Let Good-Friday be every day to a christian man, to know to use his passion to that end and purpose ; not only to read the story, but to take the fruit of it.

Some men, if they had been in this agony, would have run themselves through with their swords, as Saul did ; some would have hanged themselves, as Achitophel did. Let us not follow these men, they be no examples for us ; but let us follow

Christ, which in his agony resorted to his Father with his prayer: This must be our pattern to work by.

Here I might dilate the matter as touching praying to saints. Here we may learn not to pray to saints. Christ bids us, *Ora patrem qui est in calis*, "Pray to thy Father that is in heaven," to the Creator, and not to any creature. And therefore away with these avowries: Let God alone be our avowry*; what have we to do to run hither or thither, but only to the Father of heaven? I will not tarry to speak of this matter.

Our Saviour Christ set his disciples in order, and commanded them to watch and pray, saying, *Vigilate et orate*, "Watch and pray:" whereto should they watch and pray? he saith by and by, *Ne intretis in tentationem*, "That ye enter not into temptation." He bids them not pray that they be not tempted; for that is as much as to say, to pray that we should be out of this world. There is no man in this world without temptation. In the time of prosperity, we are tempted to wantonness, pleasures, and all lightness; in time of adversity, to despair in God's goodness. Temptation never ceases. There is a difference between being tempted, and entering into temptation. He bids therefore not to pray that they be not tempted, but that they "enter not into temptation." To be tempted is no evil thing. For what is it? no more than when the flesh, the devil and the world, doth solicit and move us against God.

To give place to these suggestions, and to yield ourselves, and suffer us to be overcome of them, this is to enter into temptation. Our Saviour Christ knew that they should be grievously tempted, and therefore he gave them warning, that they should not give place to temptation, nor despair at his death: And if they chanced to forsake him, or to run away, in case they tripped or swerved, yet to come again.

But our Saviour Christ did not only command his disciples to pray, but fell down upon his knees flat upon the ground, and prayed himself, saying, *Pater, si fieri potest, transeat à me calix iste*, "Father, deliver me of this pang and pain that I am in, this outrageous pain." This word, Father, came even from the bowels of his heart, when he made his moan; as who

* An old term in law French for a pleader or advocate.

should say, Father, rid me ; I am in such pain that I can be in no greater ! Thou art my Father, I am thy Son. Can the father forsake his son in such anguish ? Thus he made his moan. Father, take away this horror of death from me, rid me of this pain, suffer me not to be taken when Judas comes, suffer me not to be hanged on the cross, suffer not my hands to be pierced with nails, nor my heart with the sharp spear. A wonderful thing, that he should so oft tell his disciples of it before, and now, when he cometh to the point, to desire to be rid of it, as though he would have been disobedient to the will of his Father.

Afore he said, he came to suffer, and now he says, away with this cup. Who would have thought that ever this gear should have come out of Christ's mouth ? What a case is this ? What should a man say ? You must understand, that Christ took upon him our infirmities, of the which this was one, to be sorry at death. Among the stipends of sin, this was one, to tremble at the cross : this is a punishment for our sin.

It goeth otherways with us, than with Christ : if we were in like case, and in like agony, almost we would curse God, or rather wish that there were no God. This that he said was not of that sort, it was referring the matter to the will of his Father : but we seek by all means, be it right, be it wrong, of our own nature to be rid out of pain ; he desired it conditionally, as it might stand with his Father's will, adding a *veruntamen*, " nevertheless," to it ; so his request was to shew the infirmity of man. Here is now an example what we shall do when we are in like case. He never deserved it, we have. He had a *veruntamen*, a notwithstanding : let us have so to, we must have a " nevertheless, thy will be done, and not mine." Give me grace to be content, to submit my will unto thine. His fact teacheth us what to do. This is our surgery, our physic, when we be in agony ; and reckon upon it, friends, we shall come to it, we shall feel it at one time or another.

What doth he now ? what came to pass now, when he had heard no voice, his Father was dumb ? He resorts to his friends, seeking some comfort at their hands ; seeing he had none at his Father's hand, he cometh to his disciples, and finds them asleep : he spake unto Peter, and said, Ah Peter, art thou asleep ? Peter before had bragged stoutly, as though

he would have killed: God have mercy upon his soul, and now, when he should have comforted Christ, he was asleep; not once buff nor baff to him; not a word. He was fain to say to his disciples, *Vigilate et orate*, "Watch and pray; the spirit is ready, but the flesh is weak;" he had never a word of them again. They might at the least have said, "O Sir, remember yourself; are you not Christ? came not you into this world, to redeem sin? Be of good cheer, be of good comfort; this sorrow will not help you, comfort yourself by your own preaching: you have said, *Oportet filium hominis pati*, "It behoveth the son of man to suffer." You have not deserved any thing, it is not your fault." Indeed if they had done this with him, they had played a friendly part with him; but they gave him not so much as one comfortable word. We run to our friends in our distresses and agonies, as though we had all our trust and confidence in them. He did not so; he resorted to them, but trusted not in them: we will run to our friends, and come no more to God; he returned again. What? shall we not resort to our friends in time of need? and trow ye, we shall not find them asleep? Yes, I warrant you; and when we need their help most, we shall not have it. But what shall we do, when we shall find lack in them? we will cry out upon them, upbraid them, chide, brawl, fume, chafe, and backbite them. But Christ did not so, he excused his friends, saying, "*Vigilate et orate; spiritus quidem promptus est, caro autem infirma*," "Oh!" quoth he, "Watch and pray: I see well the spirit is ready, but the flesh is weak." What meaneth this? surely it is a comfortable place. For as long as we live in this world, when we be at the best, we have no more but *Promptitudinem spiritus cum infirmitate carnis*, the readiness of the spirit with the infirmity of the flesh." The very saints of God said, *Velle adest mihi*, "My will is good, but I am not able to perform it." I have been with some, and fain they would, fain they would; there was readiness of spirit, but it would not be; it grieved them that they could not take things as they should do. The flesh resisteth the work of the Holy Ghost in our hearts, and lets it, lets it. We have to pray ever to God. Oh prayer, prayer; that it might be used in this realm, as it ought to be of all men, and specially of magistrates, of counsellors, of great rulers; to pray, to pray that it

would please God to put godly policies in their hearts. Call for assistance.

I have heard say, when that good queen* that is gone had ordained in her house, dai.y prayer both before noon, and after noon, the admiral gets him out of the way, like a mole digging in the earth. He shall be Lot's wife to me as long as I live. He was, I heard say, a covetous man, a covetous man indeed : I would there were no more in England. He was, I heard say, an ambitious man, I would there were no more in England. He was, I heard say, a seditious man, a contemner of common prayer, I would there were no more in England : well he is gone. I would he had left none behind him. Remember you, my Lords, that you pray in your houses to the better mortification of your flesh. Remember God must be honoured ; I will you to pray, that God will continue his spirit in you. I do not put you in comfort, that if ye have once the spirit, ye cannot lose it. There be new spirits start up now of late, that say after we have received the Spirit, we cannot sin. I will make but one argument: Saint Paul had brought the Galatians to the profession of the faith, and left them in that state ; they had received the Spirit once, but they sinned again, as he testified of them himself : He saith, *Currebatis bene* ; ye were once in a right state ; and again, *Recipistis spiritum ex operibus legis an ex justitia fidei* ? Once they had the spirit by faith, but false prophets came, (when he was gone from them,) and they plucked them clean away from all that Paul had planted them in ; and then said Paul unto them, "*O stulti Galati, quis vos fascinavit ?*" "O foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you ?" If this be true, we may lose the spirit that we have once possessed. It is a fond thing : I will not tarry in it. But now to the passion again.

Christ had been with his Father, and felt no help : he had been with his friends, and had no comfort : he had prayed twice, and was not heard ; what did he now ? Did he give prayer over ? No, he goeth again to his Father, and saith the same again ; " Father, if it be possible, away with this cup." Here is an example for us, although we be not heard at the first time, shall we give over our prayer ? Nay, we must to it again ? we must be instant in prayer. He prayed thrice, and was not heard ; let us pray threescore times : folks are very dull now

* Catherine Par, who married the lord admiral Seymour.

a-days in prayer, to come to sermons, to resort to common prayer. You house-keepers, and especially great men, give example of prayer in your houses.

Well; did his Father look upon him this second time? No, he went to his friends again, thinking to find some comfort there, but he finds them asleep again, more deep asleep than ever they were; their eyes were heavy with sleep; there was no comfort at all, they wist not what to say to him. A wonderful thing, how he was tost from post to pillar, one while to his Father, and was destitute at his hand; another while to his friends, and found no comfort at them; his Father gave him looking on, and suffered him to bite upon the bridle awhile.

Almighty God beheld this battle, that he might enjoy the honour and glory; "that in his name all knees should bow, *Celestium, terrestrium et infernorum*, in heaven, earth, and hell." This, that the Father would not hear his own Son, was another punishment due to our sin. When we cry unto him, he will not hear us. The prophet Jeremy saith, "*Clamabant ad me et ego non exaudiam eos*," "They shall cry unto me, and I will not hear them." These be Jeremy's words, here he threateneth to punish sin, with not hearing their prayers: the prophet saith, "They have not had the fear of God before their eyes, nor have not regarded discipline and correction." I never saw surely so little discipline as is now a-days: Men will be masters, they will be masters and no disciples.

Alas, where is this discipline now in England? The people regard no discipline; they be without all order. Where they should give place, they will not stir one inch: yea, where magistrates should determine matters, they will break into the place before they come, and at their coming not move a whit for them. Is this discipline? Is this good order? If a man say any thing unto them, they regard it not. They that be called to answer, will not answer directly, but scoff the matter out. Men, the more they know, the worse they be; it is truly said, *scientia inflat*, "knowledge maketh us proud, and causeth us to forget all, and set away discipline." Surely in popery they had a reverence, but now we have none at all. I never saw the like. This same lack of the fear of God and discipline in us, was one of the causes that the Father would not hear his Son. This pain suffered our Saviour Christ for us, who never deserved it. Oh what it was that he suffered in this garden, till

Judas came ! The dolours, the terrors, the sorrows that he suffered be unspeakable. He suffered, partly, to make amends for our sins, and partly to give us example, what we should do in like case. What comes of this gear in the end ? Well, now he prayeth again, he resorteth to his Father again. *Angore correptus prolixius orabat*, He was in sorer pains, in more anguish than ever he was ; and therefore he prayeth longer, more ardently, more fervently, more vehemently, than ever he did before. Oh Lord, what a wonderful thing is this ; this horror of death is worse than death itself, and is more irksome. He prayeth now the third time. He did it so instantly, so fervently, that it brought out a bloody sweat, and in such plenty, that it dropped down even to the ground. There issued out of his precious body drops of blood. What a pain was he in, when these bloody drops fell so abundantly from him ! Yet for all that, how unthankful do we shew ourselves toward him that died, only for our sakes, and for the remedy of our sins. Oh what blasphemy do we commit day by day ; what little regard have we to his blessed passion, thus to swear by God's blood, by Christ's passion ! We have nothing in our pastime, but God's blood, God's wounds. We continually blaspheme his passion, in hawking, hunting, dicing, and carding. Who would think he should have such enemies among those that profess his name ?

What became of his blood that fell down, trow ye ? was the blood of Hales* of it ? wo worth it. What ado was there to bring this out of the king's head. This great abomination, of the blood of Hales, could not be taken a great while out of his mind.

You that be of the court, and especially, ye sworn chaplains,

* At Hales, in Gloucestershire, was a famous relic pretended to be the blood of our Saviour brought from Jerusalem. If any man was in mortal sin, and had not received absolution, he could not see the precious deposit ; which, otherwise, to any pious person, was visible enough. To prepare therefore, for a sight of the miracle, it was customary to confess to a priest, and make a suitable offering at the altar, before the relic was shewn. The blood was kept in a crystal vessel, very thick on one side, but thin and transparent on the other. If a wealthy person appeared, the monks turned the thick side, where the eye could discern nothing ; which was done to open his heart and his pocket ; and when he had bought as many masses, or made as many offerings as they thought fit, they turned the thin side, and the blood became visible. William Thomas, clerk of the council to Edward the Sixth, says that this blood was nothing more than that of a duck, renewed every week.—COLLIER, vol. ii. p. 149.

beware of a lesson that a great man taught me at my first coming to the court ; he told me for good-will ; he thought it well. He said to me, you must beware howsoever ye do, that ye contrary not the king ; let him have his sayings, follow him, go with him. Marry, out upon this counsel ; shall I say as he says ? Say your conscience, or else what a worm shall ye feel gnawing, what a remorse of conscience shall ye have, when ye remember how ye have slacked your duty ? It is a good wise verse, *Gutta cavat lapidem, non vi sed sæpe cadendo*, "The drop of rain maketh a hole in the stone, not by violence, but by oft falling." Likewise a prince must be turned, not violently, but he must be won by a little and a little. He must have his duty told him ; but it must be done with humbleness, with request of pardon, or else it were a dangerous thing. Unpreaching prelates have been the cause, that the blood of Hales did so long blind the king. Wo worth that such an abominable thing should be in a christian realm ; but thanks be to God, it was partly redressed in the king's days, that dead is, and much more now. God grant good-will and power to go forward, if there be any such abomination behind, that it may be utterly rooted up.

O how happy are we, that it hath pleased Almighty God to vouchsafe that his Son should sweat blood for the redeeming of our sins ! and again, how unhappy are we, if we will not take it thankfully, that were redeemed so painfully ! Alas, what hard hearts have we ! Our Saviour Christ never sinned, and yet sweat he blood for our sins. We will not once water our eyes with a few tears. What an horrible thing is sin ; that no other thing would remedy and pay the ransom for it, but only the blood of our Saviour Christ. There was nothing to pacify the Father's wrath against man, but such an agony as he suffered : all the passion of all the martyrs that ever were, all the sacrifices of patriarchs that ever were, all the good works that ever were done, were not able to remedy our sin, to make satisfaction for our sins, nor any thing besides, but this extreme passion, and blood-shedding of our most merciful Saviour Christ.

But to draw toward an end, what became of this threefold prayer ? At the length, it pleased God to hear his Son's prayer ; and sent him an angel to corroborate, to strengthen, to comfort him. Christ needed no angel's help, if he had listed to ease himself with his deity. He was the Son of God, what

then? Forsomuch as he was man, he received comfort at the angel's hand; as it accords to our infirmity. His obedience, his continuance, and suffering, so pleased the Father of heaven, that for his Son's sake, be he never so great a sinner, leaving his sin, and repenting for the same, he will owe him such favour, as though he had never committed any sin.

The Father of heaven will not suffer him to be tempted with this great horror of death and hell, to the uttermost, and above that he is able to bear. Look for it, my friends, by him and through him, we shall be able to overcome it: let us do as our Saviour Christ did, and we shall have help from above, we shall have angels' help; if we trust in him, heaven and earth shall give up, rather than we shall lack help. He saith he is *Adjutor in necessitatibus*, "an helper in time of need."

When the angel had comforted him, and when this horror of death was gone, he was so strong, that he offered himself to Judas; and said, I am he. To make an end. I pray you take pains, it is a day of penance, as we use to say, give me leave to make you weary this day. The Jews had him to Caiaphas and Annas, and there they whipped him, and beat him: They set a crown of sharp thorns upon his head, and nailed him to a tree: Yet all this was not so bitter, as this horror of death, and this agony that he suffered in the garden, in such a degree as is due to all the sins of the world, and not to one man's sins. Well, this passion is our remedy; it is the satisfaction for our sins.

His soul descended to hell for a time. Here is much ado; these new upstarting spirits say, Christ never descended into hell, neither body nor soul. In scorn they will ask, Was he there? what did he there? What if we cannot tell what he did there? The creed goeth no further, but saith, he descended thither; what is that to us, if we cannot tell, seeing we were taught no further? Paul was taken up into the third heaven; ask likewise what he saw when he was carried thither? You shall not find in scripture, what he saw or what he did there; shall we not therefore believe that he was there? These arrogant spirits, spirits of vain-glory, because they know not by any express scripture the order of his doings in hell, they will not believe that ever he descended into hell. Indeed this article hath not so full scripture, so many places and testimonies of scriptures as others have; yet it hath enough, it hath two or

three texts: and if it had but one, one text of scripture is of as good and lawful authority as a thousand, and of as certain truth. It is not to be weighed by the multitude of texts.

I believe as certainly and verily that this realm of England hath as good authority to hear God's word, as any nation in all the world: it may be gathered by two texts, one of them is this; *Ite in universum mundum, et predicate evangelium omni creaturæ*, "Go into the whole world, and preach the gospel to all creatures." Again, *Deus vult omnes hominis salvos fieri*, "God will have all men to be saved;" he excepts not the Englishmen here, nor yet expressly nameth them; and yet I am as sure that this realm of England, by this gathering, is allowed to hear God's word, as though Christ had said a thousand times, Go preach to Englishmen: I will that Englishmen be saved.

Because this article of his descending into hell, cannot be gathered so directly, so necessarily, so formally, they utterly deny it.

This article hath scriptures two or three, enough for quiet minds; as for curious brains, nothing can content them. This, the devil's stirring up of such spirits of sedition, is an evident argument, that the light is come forth; for his word is abroad when the devil rusheth, when he roareth, when he stirreth up such busy spirits to slander it. My intent is not to entreat of this matter at this time. I trust the people will not be carried away with these new arrogant spirits. I doubt not, but good preachers will labour against them.

But now I will say a word, and herein I protest first of all, not arrogantly to determine, and define it; I will contend with no man for it; I will not have it to be prejudice to any body, but I offer it unto you to consider and weigh it. There be some great clerks that take my part; and I perceive not what evil can come of it, in saying, that our Saviour Christ did not only in soul descend into hell, but also that he suffered in hell such pains as the damned spirits did suffer there. Surely, I believe verily, for my part, that he suffered the pains of hell proportionably, as it corresponds and answers to the whole sin of the world. He would not suffer only bodily in the garden, and upon the cross, but also in his soul when it was from the body; which was a pain due for our sin.

Some write so, and I can believe it, that he suffered in the very place, though I cannot tell what it is, call it what ye will, even in the scalding-house, in the irksomeness of the place, in the presence of the place, such pain as our capacity cannot attain unto; it is somewhat declared unto us, when we utter it by these effects, "by fire, by gnashing of teeth, by the worm that gnaweth on the conscience." Whatsoever the pain is, it is a great pain that he suffered for us.

I see no inconvenience to say, that Christ suffered in soul in hell. I singularly commend the exceeding great charity of Christ, that for our sakes would suffer in hell in his soul. It sets out the unspeakable hatred that God hath to sin. I perceive not that it doth derogate any thing from the dignity of Christ's death; as in the garden, when he suffered, it derogates nothing from that he suffered on the cross. Scripture speaketh in this fashion; *Qui credit in me, habet vitam æternam*, "He that believeth in me, hath life everlasting." Here he sets forth faith as the cause of our justification; in other places, as high commendation is given to works; and yet, are the works any derogation from that dignity of faith? No. And again, scripture saith, *Traditus est propter peccata nostra et exuscitatus propter justificationem, &c.*, "Christ, died for our sins, and rose again for our justification." It attributeth here our justification to his resurrection; and doth this derogate any thing from his death? Not a whit. It is whole Christ. What with his nativity, what with his circumcision, what with his incarnation and the whole process of his life, with his preaching, what with his ascending, descending, what with his death, it is all Christ that worketh our salvation. He sitteth on the right hand of the Father, and all for us. All this is the work of our salvation. I would be as loth to derogate any thing from Christ's death, as the best of you all. How inestimably are we bound to him? What thanks ought we to give him for it? We must have this continually in remembrance, *Propter te morti tradimur tota die*, "For thee we are in dying continually."

The life of a christian man is nothing but a readiness to die, and a remembrance of death. If this that I have spoken of Christ's suffering in the garden, and in hell, derogate any thing from Christ's death and passion, away with it, believe

me not in this ; if it do not, it commends and sets forth very well unto us the perfection of the satisfaction that Christ made for us, and the work of redemption, not only before witness in this world, but in hell, in that irksome place ; where, whether he suffered or wrestled with the spirits, or comforted Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, I will not desire to know. If ye like not that which I have spoken of his suffering, let it go, I will not strive in it ; I will be prejudice to no body, weigh it as ye list ; I do but offer it you to consider. It is like, his soul did somewhat the three days that his body lay in the grave. To say, he suffered in hell for us, derogates nothing from his death. For all things that Christ did before his suffering on the cross, and after, do work our salvation. If he had not been incarnate, he had not died ; he was beneficial to us with all things he did. Christian people should have his suffering for them in remembrance. Let your gardens monish you, your pleasant gardens, what Christ suffered for you in the garden ; and what commodity you have by his suffering. It is his will ye should so do ; he would be had in remembrance.

Mix your pleasures with the remembrance of his bitter passion. The whole passion is satisfaction for our sins ; and not the bare death, considering it so nakedly by itself. The manner of speaking of scripture, is to be considered. It attributeth our salvation now to one thing, now to another that Christ did : where indeed it pertained to all. Our Saviour Christ hath left behind him a remembrance of his passion, the blessed communion, the celebration of the Lord's Supper ; alack, it hath been long abused, as the sacrifices were before in the old law. The patriarchs used sacrifice, in the faith of the seed of the woman, which should break the serpent's head. The patriarchs sacrificed on hope, and afterward the work was esteemed. There come other after, and they consider not the faith of Abraham and the patriarchs, but do their sacrifice according to their own imagination ; even so came it to pass with our blessed communion. In the primitive church, in places when their friends were dead, they used to come together to the holy communion. What ? to remedy them that were dead ? No, no, a straw ; it was instituted for no such purpose. But then they would call to remembrance God's goodness, and his passion that he suffered for us, wherein they comforted much their faith.

Others came afterward, and set up all these kinds of massing, all these kinds of iniquity. What an abomination is it ! the foulest that ever was, to attribute to man's work our salvation. God be thanked that we have this blessed communion set forth so now, that we may comfort, increase, and fortify our faith at that blessed celebration. If he be guilty of the body of Christ, that takes it unworthily ; he fetcheth great comfort at it, that eats it worthily : He doth eat it worthily, that doth eat it in faith. In faith ? in what faith ? Not long ago a great man said in an audience, " They babble much of faith, I will go lie with my whore all night, and have as good a faith as the best of them all." I think he never knew other, but the whoremonger's faith. It is no such faith that will serve. It is no bribing judge's, or justice's faith, no rent-raiser's faith, no whoremonger's faith, no lease-monger's faith, nor no seller of benefices's faith ; but the faith in the passion of our Saviour Christ. We must believe that our Saviour Christ hath taken us again to his favour, that he hath delivered us his own body and blood, to plead with the devil, and by merit of his own passion, of his own mere liberality. This is the faith, I tell you, that we must come to the communion with, and not the whoremonger's faith. Look where remission of sin is, there is acknowledging of sin also. Faith is a noble duchess, she hath ever her gentleman-usher going before her, the confessing of sins : she hath a train after her, the fruits of good works, the walking in the commandments of God. He that believeth will not be idle, he will walk, he will do his business ; have ever the gentleman-usher with you. So if ye will try faith, remember this rule, consider whether the train be waiting upon her. If you have another faith than this, a whoremonger's faith, you are like to go to the scalding-house, and there you shall have two dishes, weeping and gnashing of teeth ; much good do it you, you see your fare. If ye will believe and acknowledge your sins, you shall come to the blessed communion of the bitter passion of Christ worthily, and so attain to everlasting life ; to the which the Father of heaven bring you and me. *Amen.*

THE
LAST SERMON
PREACHED BEFORE KING EDWARD,
ANNO DOMINI, 1550.

LUKE xii. 15.

Vilete et cavete ab avaritia.

Take heed and beware of covetousness.

TAKE heed and beware of covetousness :—Take heed and beware of covetousness :—Take heed and beware of covetousness. And what and if I should say nothing else, these three or four hours (for I know it will be so long, in case I be not commanded to the contrary) but these words, “Take heed and beware of covetousness;” it would be thought a strange sermon before a king, to say nothing else but *Cavete ab avaritia*, “Beware of covetousness. And yet as strange as it is, it would be like the sermon of Jonas, that he preached to the Ninevites ; as touching the shortness, and as touching the paucity or fewness of the words. For his sermon was, *Ad huc quadraginta dies, et Nineve subvertitur*, “There is yet forty days to come, and Nineveh shall be destroyed.” Thus he walked from street to street, and from place to place round about the city, and said nothing else ; but “There is yet forty days, (quoth he,) and Nineveh shall be destroyed.” There is no great odds nor difference, at the least-wise in the number of words, no nor yet in the sense or meaning between these two sermons ; “There is, yet forty days, and Nineveh shall be destroyed ;” and these words that I have taken to speak of this day : “Take heed, and beware of covetousness.” For Nineveh should be destroyed for sin, and of their sins covetousness was one, and one of the greatest ; so that it is all one in effect. And as they be like concerning the shortness, the paucity of

words, the brevity of words, and also the meaning and purpose; so I would they might be like in fruit and profit. For what came of Jonah's sermon? what was the fruit of it? *Ad prædicationem Jonæ crediderunt Deo*, "At the preaching of Jonas they believed God." Here was a great fruit, a great effect wrought. What is that same; they believed God? They believed God's preacher, God's officer, God's minister, Jonas, and were converted from their sin. They believed that, (as the preacher said,) if they did not repent and amend their life, the city should be destroyed within forty days. This was a great fruit! for Jonas was but one man, and he preached but one sermon, and it was but a short sermon neither, as touching the number of words: and yet he turned all the whole city great and small, rich and poor, king and all.

We be many preachers here in England, and we preach many long sermons, yet the people will not repent nor convert. This was the fruit, the effect, and the good that his sermon did, that all the whole city at his preaching converted, and amended their evil living, and did penance in sack-cloth. And yet here in this sermon of Jonas is no great curiousness, no great clerkliness, no great affectation of words, nor of painted eloquence; it was none other but, *Ad huc quadraginta dies et Nineve subvertitur*, "Yet forty days, and Nineveh shall be destroyed:" it was no more. This was no great curious sermon, but this was a nipping-sermon, a pinching sermon, a biting sermon; it had a full bite, it was a nipping sermon, a rough sermon, and a sharp biting sermon. Do you not here marvel that these Ninevites cast not Jonas in prison, that they did not revile him, and rebuke him? They did not revile him, nor rebuke him; but God gave them grace to hear him, and to convert and amend at his preaching. A strange matter, so noble a city to give place to one man's sermon. Now England cannot abide this gear, they cannot be content to hear God's minister, and his threatening for their sin, though the sermon be never so good, though it be never so true. It is, a naughty fellow, a seditious fellow, he maketh trouble and rebellion in the realm; he lacketh discretion. But the Ninevites rebuked not Jonas that he lacked discretion, or that he spake out of time, that his sermon was out of season made: But in England, if God's preacher, God's minister, be any thing quick, or do speak

sharply, then he is a foolish fellow, he is rash, he lacketh discretion. Now a days if they cannot reprove the doctrine that is preached, then they will reprove the preacher, that he lacketh due consideration of the times, and that he is of learning sufficient, but he wanteth discretion.

“What a time is this, picked out to preach such things ! he should have a respect and a regard to the time, and to the state of things, and of the commonweal.” It rejoiceth me sometimes, when my friend cometh and telleth me that they find fault with my discretion, for by likelihood, think I, the doctrine is true ; for if they could find fault with the doctrine, they would not charge me with the lack of discretion, but they would charge me with my doctrine, and not with the lack of discretion, or with the inconveniency of the time.

I will now ask you a question ; I pray you, when should Jonas have preached against the covetousness of Nineveh, if the covetous men should have appointed him his time ? I know that preachers ought to have a discretion in their preaching, and that they ought to have a consideration and respect to the place, and the time that he preacheth in ; as I myself will say here that I would not say in the country for no good. But what then ? Sin must be rebuked, sin must be plainly spoken against. And when should Jonas have preached against Nineveh, if he should have forbore for the respect of the times, or the place, or the state of things there ? For what was Nineveh ? A noble, a rich, and a wealthy city. What is London to Nineveh ? Like a village, as Islington, or such another, in comparison of London. Such a city was Nineveh, it was three days’ journey to go through every street of it, and to go but from street to street. There were noblemen, rich men, wealthy men, there were vicious men, and covetous men, and men that gave themselves to all voluptuous living, and to worldliness of getting riches. Was this a time well chosen and discreetly taken of Jonas, to come and reprove them of their sin, to declare unto them the threatenings of God, and to tell them of their covetousness, and to say plainly unto them, that except they repented and amended their evil living, they and their city should be destroyed of God’s hand within forty days ? And yet they heard Jonas and gave place to his preaching. They heard the threatenings of God, and feared his stroke

and vengeance, and believed God, that is, they believed God's preacher and minister, they believed that God would be true of his word that he spake by the mouth of his prophet, and thereupon did penance, to turn away the wrath of God from them. Well, what shall we say? I will say this and not spare; Christ saith, Nineveh shall arise against the Jews at the last day, and bear witness against them; because that they hearing God's threatening for sin, *Ad prædicationem Jonæ in cinere et sacco egerunt penitentiam*, "They did penance at the preaching of Jonas in ashes and sackcloth," (as the text saith there :) and I say Nineveh shall arise against England, thou England, Nineveh shall arise against England, because it will not believe God, nor hear his preachers that cry daily unto them, nor amend their lives, and especially their covetousness. Covetousness is as great a sin now as it was then; and it is the same sin now it was then. And he will as sure strike for sin now, as he did then. But ah, good God, that would give them a time of repentance, after his threatening. First, to see whether they would amend or not, or he would destroy them. For even from the beginning of the world they fell to sin. The first age from Adam, which was about two thousand years, they fell ever to sin, and they had preachers, Noah, and Enoch, and other holy fathers. And in that time a great multiplication was that grew in two thousand years; for that scripture saith, "The sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair, and they took them wives from among all that they had chosen." This is a long matter to speak of all. But what meaneth this, the sons of God saw the daughters of men? who were these sons of God?

The sons of God were those that came of the good men, of the good preachers, of the holy fathers, that were God's men; as they that came of Seth and Enoch, that were good men, and of others. For our grandmother Eve, when Cain had killed Abel, and when she had another son by Adam, who was called Seth, what did she? she gave thanks to God for him, and acknowledged that God it was which had given him unto her; for she said, *Dedit mihi Deus semen pro Abel quem occidet Cain*, "God (said she) hath given me another seed instead of Abel whom Cain slew."

Here is a long matter to talk on. Some will say, was this a

natural mother, was this naturally done, to publish the sin of her own son? What needed she to speak of that matter, or to make any rehearsal of that matter, to open the sin of her son? What needed she this to do? Yes, she was now a good woman; when she believed the serpent, she was not good. But now she had repented that deed, and had taken hold of the promise of God, that there should come of her a seed, that should tread down and destroy the head of the serpent. She had now taken hold of this promise, and was a good woman, and a godly woman; she opened the fault of her son, and hid it not. Here could I say somewhat to them, if I would, that spake so much against me for my preaching here the last year. But to return to Eve, and declare that by the sons of God are to be understood those that came of good men, as of Seth and Enoch, and the same good part of generation.

And the daughters of men are to be understood of them that came of Cain and of his seed; and therefore our grandmother Eve bad beware of marrying with Cain's seed, for fear of falling from God to wickedness thereby.

And here I would say a thing to your majesty: I shall speak it of good will to your highness; I would I were able to do your Grace good service in any thing, ye should be sure to have it. But I will say this, for God's love beware where you marry; chuse your wife in a faithful stock. Beware of this worldly policy, marry in God; marry not for the great respect of alliance, for thereof cometh all these evils of breaking of wedlock, which is among princes and noblemen. And here I would be a suitor unto your majesty, for I come now rather to be a suitor and a petitioner, then a preacher; for I come now to take my leave, and to take my *ultimum vale*, at leastwise in this place; for I have not long to live, so that I think I shall never come here into this place again; and therefore I will ask a petition of your highness. For the love of God, take an order for marriages here in England. For here is marriage for pleasure and voluptuousness, and for goods; and so that they may join land to land, and possessions to possessions, they care for no more here in England. And that is the cause of so much adultery, and so much breach of wedlock in the noblemen, and gentlemen, and so much divorcing. And it is not now in the noblemen only, but it is come now to the inferior sort. Every

man, if he have but a small cause, will cast off his old wife, and take a new, and will marry again at his pleasure; and there be many that have so done. I would therefore wish that there were a law provided in this behalf for adulterers, and that adultery should be punished with death; and that might be a remedy for all this matter. There would not be then so much adultery, whoredom, and lechery in England as there is: For the love of God take heed to it, and see a remedy provided for it. I would wish that adultery should be punished with death; and that the woman being an offender, if her husband would be a suitor for her, she should be pardoned for the first time, but not for the second time: and the man being an offender, should be pardoned if his wife be a suitor for him the first time, but not for the second time, if he offend twice.

If this law were made, there would not be so much adultery nor lechery used in the realm as there is. Well, I trust once yet, as old as I am, to see the day that lechery shall be punished: it was never more need, for there was never more lechery used in England as there is at this day, and maintained. It is made but a laughing matter, and a trifle; and it is a sad matter, and an earnest matter; for lechery is a great sin: Sodom and Gomorrah was destroyed for it. And it was one of the sins reigning in Nineveh, for which it should have been destroyed. But think you that lechery was alone? No, no, covetousness was joined with it. Covetousness followeth lechery, and commonly they go together. For why? they that be given to voluptuousness, and to the vice of lechery, must have wherewith to maintain it, and that must be gotten by covetousness. For at the first when men fell to sin, and chiefly to lechery, wherefore the world should be destroyed, the book saith, "There were giants in the earth in those days: and after that the sons of God had come to the daughters of men, and there had engendered with them, the same became mighty men of the world, and men of renown," &c. This is covetousness; for the book saith, *Terra erat repleta iniquitate*, "The earth was replete with iniquity, for they oppressed the poor." They made them slaves, peasants, villains, and bond-men unto them. These were giants so called of the property of giants, for they oppress the weak, and take from them what they list by force, violence, and oppression. They were giants of the

property of giants, not that they were greater men of stature and strength of body than other men were. For certain writers speaking of this matter, say, that they were giants for their cruelty and covetous oppression, and not in stature or procerity of body. For there is no reason why Seth's children could beget on Cain's daughters greater men than others were in stature of body. But they were giants in the property of giants, for oppressing of others by force and violence: And this was covetousness, wherewith God was so displeased, that he repented that he had made men, and resolved utterly to destroy the world; and so called to Noah, and told him of it. "And I will not dispute the matter with them, saith God, from day to day, and never the near; but if they will not amend within an hundred and twenty years, I shall bring in an universal flood over their ears, and destroy them all." This was preached by Noah to them; and so that God of his goodness, patience, and long-sufferance, gave them a time to repent and amend after his threatenings, because they should see their evil doings, and return to God. So they had an hundred and twenty years to repent. This Noah was laughed to scorn; they, like dodi-poles, laughed this godly father to scorn.

Well, ye think little of the history; if ye will know the meaning of it, it is a great shew what anger God hath to sin. But how long time hast thou, England: thou England? I cannot tell, for God hath not revealed it unto me; if he had, so God help me I would tell you of it, I would not be afraid, nor spare to tell it you, for the good-will I bear you; but I cannot tell how long time ye have, for God hath not opened it unto me. But I can tell you, that this lenity, this long forbearing and holding of his hand, provoketh us to repent and amend. And I can tell, that whosoever contemneth this riches and treasure of God's goodness, of his mercy, his patience and long-suffering, shall have the more grievous condemnation. This I can tell well enough; Paul telleth me this; and I can tell that ye have time to repent as long as you live here in this world, but after this life I can make no warrant of any further time to repent. Therefore repent and amend while ye be here, for when ye are gone hence, ye are past that. But how long that shall be, whether to-morrow or the next day, or twenty years, or how long, I cannot tell. But in the mean time ye

have many Jonasses to tell you of your faults, and to declare unto you God's threatenings, except ye repent and amend.

Therefore, to return to my matter, I say as I said at the beginning, *Videte et cavete, ab avaritia: videte*, see it, first see it, and then amend it. For I promise you great complaint there is of it, and much crying out, and much preaching, but none amendment that I see: But *cavete ab avaritia*, "Beware of covetousness." And why of covetousness? *Quia radix est omnium malorum avaritia et cupiditas*, "For covetousness is the root of all evil, and of all mischief." This saying of Paul took me away from the gospel that is read in the church this day, and it took me from the epistle, that I would preach upon neither of them both at this time. I cannot tell what ailed me, but to tell you my imperfection, when I was appointed to preach here, I was new come out of a sickness, whereof I looked to have died, and weak I was. Yet, nevertheless, when I was appointed unto it, I took it upon me, howbeit I repented afterward that I had so done. I was displeased with myself; I was testy, as Jonas was, when he should go preach to the Ninevites. Well, I looked on the gospel that is read this day, but it liked me not; I looked on the epistle, tush, I could not away with that neither. And yet I remember I had preached upon this epistle once afore king Henry the Eighth; but now I could not frame with it, nor it liked me not in no sauce. Well, this saying of Paul came in my mind, and at last I considered and weighed the matter deeply, and then thought I thus with myself; Is covetousness the root of all mischief and of all evil? then have at the root, and down with all covetousness. So this place of Paul brought me to this text of Luke, "See and beware of covetousness." Therefore, you preachers, out with your swords and strike at the root; speak against covetousness, and cry out upon it. Stand not ticking and toying at the branches, nor at the boughs, for then there will new boughs and branches spring again of them, but strike at the root, and fear not these giants of England, these great men and men of power, these men that are oppressors of the poor; fear them not, but strike at the root of all evil, which is mischievous covetousness. For covetousness is the cause of rebellion. I have forgotten my logic, but yet I can jumble at a

sylllogism, and make an argument of it, to prove it by. Covetousness is the root of all evil: Rebellion is an evil, *ergo* covetousness is the root of rebellion. And so it was indeed. Covetousness was the cause of rebellion this last summer, and both parties had covetousness, as well the gentlemen as the commons. Both parties had covetousness, for both parties had an inordinate desire to have that they had not, and that is covetousness, an inordinate desire to have that, *one* hath not*.

The commons would have had from the gentlemen such things as they desired. The gentlemen would none of it, and so was there covetousness on both sides. The commons thought they had a right to the things that they inordinately sought to have. But what then? they must not come to it that way. Now on the other side, the gentlemen had a desire to keep that they had, and so they rebelled too against the king's commandment, and against such good order as he and his council would have set in the realm. And thus both parties had covetousness, and both parties did rebel. I heard say, that there were godly ordinances devised for the redress of it. But the giants would none of it in no sauce. I remember mine ownself, a certain giant, a great man, who sat in commission about such matters: And when the townsmen should bring in what had been enclosed, he frowned and chafed, and so near looked, and threatened the poor men, that they durst not ask their right.

I read of late in an act of parliament: and this act made mention of an act that was in king Henry's days, (the third I trow it was; yea, and such another business there was in king

* In the summer of 1549, there was a very serious insurrection in many parts of England, but chiefly in Norfolk and Devonshire, occasioned by the conduct of the nobility and gentry, who, being willing to make the most of the abbey lands, enclosed a great deal of the waste ground. This, though a real improvement of the country, produced loud complaints chiefly among the poor, who lost the benefit of pasturage. To quiet the public mind, commissioners were despatched into the country to examine the grievances; with instructions to throw open the enclosures, and put things in their former style. These orders, however, were not faithfully executed, and the consequence was, that the disaffection increased till it broke out into open rebellion. The Cornish and Devonshire rebels laid siege to Exeter, but were at last defeated and dispersed. The Norfolk rebels, headed by Ket, a farmer, made themselves masters of Norwich, and began to dictate terms to the government, till the earl of Warwick gave them battle, routed them, and executed Ket, with his principal adherents.—*Stowe's Anna's. Holinshed's Chronicles.*

Edward's time, the second also.) In this parliament that I speak of, the gentlemen and the commons were at variance, as they were now of late. And there the gentlemen that were landlords, would needs have away much lands from their tenants; and would needs have an act of parliament, that it might be lawful for them to enclose and make several from their tenants, and from the commons, such portions of their lands as they thought good. Much ado there was about this act; at last it was concluded and granted that they might so do; provided alway, that they should leave sufficient to the tenant. Well, it was well that they should leave sufficient for them. But who should be the judge to limit what was sufficient for them? Or who shall now judge what is sufficient? Well, I for my part cannot tell what is sufficient. But methought it was well that the tenants and poor commons should have sufficient. For if they had sufficient, thought I, they had cause to be quiet. And then fell I to make this argument within myself: if at that time it were put in their will and power that they might enclose, leaving to the tenant that were sufficient for him; if they had it then in their power, thought I, that they might this do, they would leave no more than sufficient. If they left to the tenants and poor commons no more in those days but sufficient; then if they had any more taken from them since that time; then had they now not sufficient.

They in Christ are equal with you. Peers of the realm must needs be. The poorest ploughman is in Christ equal with the greatest prince that is. Let them therefore have sufficient to maintain them, and to find them their necessaries. A ploughland must have sheep, yea, they must have sheep to dung their ground for bearing of corn; for if they have no sheep to help to fat the ground, they shall have but bare corn and thin. They must have swine for their food, to make their *veneries** or bacon of; their bacon is their venison (for they shall now have *hangum tuum*, if they get any other venison) so that bacon is their necessary meat to feed on, which they may not lack. They must have other cattle, as horses to draw their plough, and for carriage of things to the markets, and kine for

* *Veneries*, from "Venerie," the old French word for game. The good bishop appears to have been no friend to the game laws.

their milk and cheese, which they must live upon and pay their rents.

These cattle must have pasture, which pasture if they lack, the rest must needs fail them. And pasture they cannot have if the land be taken in, and enclosed from them. So, as I said, there was in both parts rebellion. Therefore, for God's love, restore their sufficient unto them, and search no more what is the cause of rebellion. But see and "beware of covetousness," for covetousness is the cause of rebellion. Well now, if covetousness be the cause of rebellion, then preaching against covetousness is not the cause of rebellion. Some say, that the preaching now-a-days is the cause of all sedition and rebellion; for since this new preaching hath come in, there hath been much sedition; and therefore it must needs be that the preaching is the cause of rebellion here in England. Forsooth, our preaching is the cause of rebellion, much like as Christ was the cause of the destruction of Jerusalem. For, saith Christ, *Si non venissem et locutu fuisset eis, peccatum non haberent*, &c. "If I had not come, (saith Christ) and spoken to them they should have no sin." So we preachers have come and spoken to you, we have drawn our swords of God's word, and stricken at the roots of all evil to have them cut down; and if ye will not amend what can we do more? And preaching is the cause of sedition here in England, much like as Elias was the cause of trouble in Israel, for he was a preacher there, and told the people of all degrees their faults, and so they winced and kicked at him, and accused him to Ahab the king, that he was a seditious fellow, and a troublous preacher, and made much uproar in the realm. So the king sent for him, and he was brought to Ahab the king, who said unto him, "Art thou he that troubleth all Israel?" And Elias answered, and said, "Nay, thou and thy father's house are they that trouble all Israel." Elias had preached God's word; he had plainly told the people of their evil doings; he had shewed them God's threatenings. (In God's behalf I speak, there is neither king, nor emperor, be they never in so great estate, but they are subject to God's word,) and therefore he was not afraid to say to Ahab: "It is thou and thy father's house, that causeth all the trouble in Israel." Was not this presumptuously spoken to a king? Was not this a seditious fellow? was not this fellow's preaching a cause of all the trouble in Israel? Was he not worthy to be cast in bocardo

or little ease? No, but he had used God's sword, which is his word, and done nothing else that was evil; but they could not abide it: he never disobeyed Ahab's sword, which was the regal power. But Ahab disobeyed his sword, which was the word of God. And therefore by the punishment of God, much trouble arose in the realm for the sins of Ahab and the people. But God's preacher, God's prophet, was not the cause of the trouble.

Then is it not we preachers that trouble England. But here is now an argument to prove the matter against the preachers. Here was preaching against covetousness all the last year in Lent, and the next summer followed rebellion; *ergo*, preaching against covetousness was the cause of the rebellion. A goodly argument.

Here now I remember an argument of Master More's*, which hebr ingeth in a book that he made against Bilney: and here by the way I will tell you a merry toy. Master More was once sent in commission into Kent, to help to try out, if it might be, what was the cause of Goodwin sands, and the shelf that stopped up Sandwich haven. Thither cometh Master More, and calleth the country afore him, such as were thought to be men of experience, and men that could of likelihood best certify him of that matter concerning the stopping of Sandwich haven. Among others came in before him an old man, with a white head, and one that was thought to be little less than an hundred years old. When Master More saw this aged man, he thought it expedient to hear him say his mind in this matter, for, being so old a man, it was likely that he knew most of any man in that presence and company. So Master More called this old aged man unto him, and said, Father, (said he) tell me, if ye can, what is the cause of this great arising of the sands and shelves here about this haven, the which stop it up that no ships can arrive here? Ye are the eldest man that I can espy in all this company, so that if any man can tell any cause of it, ye of likelihood can say most in it, or at leastwise more than any other man here assembled. Yea, forsooth, good master, quoth this old man, for I am well

* Sir Thomas More, who was made lord chancellor by king Henry VIII., in the year 1529; he resigned the seals in 1532, and was beheaded in the year 1535, because he would not take the oath for acknowledging the king to be the head of the English church and abolishing the supremacy of the pope.

nigh an hundred years old, and no man here in this company any thing near unto mine age. Well then, quoth Master More, how say you in this matter? What think ye to be the cause of these shelves and flats that stop up Sandwich haven? Forsooth, Sir, quoth he, I am an old man; I think that Tenterton-steeple is the cause of Goodwin sands. For I am an old man, Sir, quoth he, and I may remember the building of Tenterton-steeple, and I may remember when there was no steeple at all there. And before that Tenterton-steeple was in building, there was no manner of speaking of any flats or sands that stopped the haven, and therefore I think that Tenterton-steeple is the cause of the destroying and decay of Sandwich haven. And even so to my purpose, is preaching of God's word the cause of rebellion, as Tenterton-steeple was cause Sandwich haven is decayed.

And is not this a gay matter, that such should be taken for great wise men, that will thus reason against the preacher of God's word? But here I would take an occasion by the way of a digression to speak somewhat to my sisters, the women, to do them some good too, because I would do all folks good if I could, before I take my *ultimum vale*, at leastwise here of this place, for I think, I shall no more come here; for I think I have not long to live; so that I judge I take my leave now of the court for ever, and shall no more come in this place.

Ahab was a king, but Jezabel, Jezabel, she was the perilous woman. She would rule her husband the king; she would bear a stroke in all things, and she would order matters as pleased her; and so will many women do, they will rule their husbands, and do all things after their own minds. They do therein against the order by God appointed them: they break their injunction that God gave unto them. Yea, it is now come to the lower sort, to mean men's wives, they will rule and apparel themselves gorgeously, and some of them far above their degrees, whether their husbands will or no. But they break their injunction, and do therein contrary to God's ordinance. God saith: *Subdita eris sub potestate viri*, "Thou shalt be subject under the power of thy husband." Thou shalt be subject; women are subjects; ye be subjects to your husbands.

At the first, the man and the woman were equal. But after that she had given credit to the serpent, then she had

an injunction set upon her : *Subdita eris sub potestate viri*, "Thou shalt be subject under the power of thy husband." And as for one part of her injunction she taketh; and she taketh one part of her penance, because she cannot avoid it, and that is, *In dolore paries*, "Thou shalt bring forth children with pain and travail." This part of their injunction they take, and yet is the same so grievous, that Chrysostom saith, if it were not for the ordinance of God, which cannot be made frustrate by man, they would never come to it again for no worldly good. But God hath provided herein. And as Christ saith in the gospel, *Mulier cum parit tristitiam habet*, &c., "The woman when she beareth a child hath sorrow, but afterward she remembereth not the pain, because there is a soul brought forth into the world."

But as it is a part of your penance, ye women, to travail in bearing your children; so it is a part of your penance to be subjects unto your husbands; ye are underlings, underlings, and must be obedient. But this is now made a trifle and a small matter; and yet, it is a sad matter, a godly matter, a ghostly matter, a matter of damnation and salvation. And Paul saith, that "a woman ought to have a power on her head." What is this, to have a power on her head? It is a manner of speaking of the scripture; and to have her power on her head, is to have a sign and token of power, which is by covering of her head, declaring that she hath a superior above her, by whom she ought to be ruled and ordered: for she is not immediately under God, but mediately. For by their injunction the husband is their head under God, and they subjects unto their husbands. But this power that some of them have, is disguised gear and strange fashions. They must wear French hoods, and I cannot tell you, I, what to call it. And when they make them ready, and come to the covering of their head, they will call and say, Give me my French hood, and give me my bonnet, or my cap, and so forth. I would wish that the women would call the covering of their heads by the terms of the scripture. As when she would have her cap, I would she would say, Give me my power. I would they would learn to speak as the Holy Ghost speaketh, and call it by such a name as St. Paul doth. I would they would (as they have much pranking), when they

put on their cap, I would they would have this meditation, I am now putting on my power upon my head. If they had this thought in their minds, they would not make so much pricking up of themselves as they do nowadays. But now here is a vengeance devil; we must have our power from Turkey of Velvet, and gay it must be, far fetched, dear bought; and when it cometh, it is a false sign. I had rather have a true English sign, than a false sign from Turkey. It is a false sign when it covereth not their heads as it should do. For if they would keep it under the power as they ought to do, there should not any such tussocks* nor tufts be seen as there be; nor such laying out of the hair nor braiding to have it open. I would marvel of it, how it should come to be so abused, and so far out of order; saving that I know by experience, that many will not be ruled by their husbands, as they ought to be. I have been desired to exhort some, and with some I could do little in that matter.

But there be now many Adams that will not displease their wives, but will in this behalf let them have all their own minds, and do as them listeth. And some others again there be nowadays that will defend it, and say it may be suffered well enough, because it is not expressed in Scripture, nor spoken of by name. Though we have not express mention in scripture against such laying of the hair in tussocks and tufts, yet we have in scripture express mention *De tortis crinibus*, of wreathen hair, that is for the nonce forced to curl. But of these tussocks that are laid out nowadays, there is no mention made in scriptures, because they were not used in scripture time. They were not yet come to be so far out of order, as to lay out such tussocks and tufts. But I will tell thee, if thou wilt needs lay it out, or if thou wilt needs shew thy hair, and have it seen, go and poll thy head, or round it, as men do; for to what purpose is it to pull it out so, and to lay it out? Some do it, say they, of a simplicity: some do it of a pride; and some of other causes. But they do it because they will be quarter-master with their husbands. Quarter-masters? Nay, half-masters: yea some of them will be whole masters, and rule the roast as they list themselves.

* An old word for a braided lock of hair. Such locks the ladies of those times wore finely adorned; some hanging down before, and others behind, of various lengths.

But these defenders of it will not have it evil, because it is not spoken of in scripture. But there be other things as evil as this, which are not spoken of in scripture expressly, but they are implied in scripture, as well as though they were expressly spoken of. For the Prophet Isaiah saith, *Væ qui consurgitis mane ad comessandum, ad ebrietatem sectandam et potando usque ad vesperam, ut vino estuetis.* “Wo unto you that arise early in the morning, and go to drinking until night, that ye may swim in wine.”

This is the scripture against banqueting and drunkenness. But now they banquet all night, and lie a-bed in the day-time till noon, and the scripture speaketh nothing of that. But what then? the devil hath his purpose this way, as well as the other; he hath his purpose as well by revelling and keeping ill rule all night, as by rising early in the morning and banqueting all day. So the devil hath his purpose both ways. Ye noblemen, ye great men, I wot not what rule ye keep: For God’s sake hear the complaints and suits of the poor. Many complain against you that ye lie a-bed till eight, or nine, or ten of the clock. I cannot tell what revel ye have over night, whether in banqueting, or dicing, or carding, or how it is; but in the morning, when poor suitors come to your houses, ye cannot be spoken withal: they are kept sometimes without your gates, or if they be let into the hall, or some outer chamber, out cometh one or other, “Sir, ye cannot speak with my lord yet, my lord is asleep, or he hath had business of the king’s all night,” &c. And thus poor suitors are driven off from day to day, that they cannot speak with you in three, or four days, yea, a whole month: what shall I say more? yea a whole year sometimes, ere they can come to your speech, to be heard of you. For God’s love look better to it, speak with poor men when they come to your houses, and despatch poor suitors, as indeed some noblemen do, and would Christ that all noblemen would so do. But some do.

I went one day myself betime in the morning to a great man’s house to speak with him, in business that I had of mine own. And methought I was up betimes; but when I came thither, the great man was gone forth about such affairs as behoved him, ere I came. Well, yet, thought I, this is well, I like this well: this man doth somewhat regard and consider

his office and duty. I came too late for mine own matter, and lost my journey, and my early rising too: and yet I was glad that I had been so beguiled. For God's love follow this example, ye great men, and arise in the mornings, and be ready for men to speak with them, and to despatch suitors that resort unto you. But all these I bring to disprove them that defend evil things, because they be not expressly spoken against in the scripture. But what forceth that? when the devil hath his purpose, and is served as well one way, as another way: though it be not expressly spoken against in scripture, yet I reckon it plainly enough implied in the scripture.

But now to come to my matter again: *Videte et cavete ab avaritia*, "See and beware of covetousness:" And I shall desire you to consider four things: *Quis dicat, quid dicat, cui dicat, et quare dicat*: "Who speaketh it; what he speaketh; to whom he speaketh; and wherefore he speaketh it." As here, Christ speaketh to a rich man against avarice: And why against avarice? what shall be the end of all covetous persons? Eternal damnation. "For the covetous persons, (saith Paul), shall not possess, nor enter into the kingdom of God." Here therefore I shall desire you to pray, &c.

THE
SECOND SERMON
PREACHED BEFORE KING EDWARD

IN THE AFTERNOON OF THE SAME DAY.

LUKE xii. 15.

Videte et cavete ab avaritia, &c.

See and beware of covetousness.

FIRST, who spake these words? Forsooth, Christ spake them ; if I had spoken them of myself, it had been little worth. But Christ spake them, and upon a good occasion : The story is, *Duo litigabant inter se* .“ There were two at strife between themselves,” (Luke xii.) and by this it appeareth that Christ spake them. Well, Christ spake these words at that time ; and now he speaketh them by his Preacher, whom ye ought to believe ; and so it is all one. But upon what occasion did he speak it ? There were two brethren at strife together for lands, wealthy men, as it appeareth, and the rich fellow would not tarry till Christ had ended his sermon, but interrupted it, and would needs have his matter despatched by and by. He was at Christ’s sermon, but yet he would not defer his worldly cause till Christ had made an end of his godly exhortation. This was a thorny brother, he was a gospeller, he was a carnal gospeller (as many be nowadays for a piece of an abbey, or for a portion of chantry lands), to get somewhat by it, and to serve his commodity. He was a gospeller, one of the new brethren, somewhat worse than a rank papist. Howbeit, a rank papist nowadays shall sooner have promotion than a true gospeller shall have, the more pity. But this was a thorny gospeller, he heard Christ’s preaching and followed him for company, and heard his words ; but he was never the better for it ; but the care of the world so choked

the word of God in him, that he could not hear the sermon to the end, but interrupted the sermon for his worldly matter ere it were all done.

And what was Christ then doing? forsooth he was sowing of good seed, but it fell upon stony ground, so that it could not take any root in this fellow, to bring forth good fruit in him. And let me tell you of the seed that Christ was then sowing; bear with me awhile, and seeing that I come now to take my *ultimum vale* of this place, hear me patiently, and give me leave a little while, and let me take my leave honestly.

At the time when this fellow interrupted Christ's sermon, he was preaching a long sermon to his disciples, and to the people, being gathered together in a wonderful great multitude, as appeareth in the twelfth chapter of St. Luke's gospel: and there he first of all taught his disciples a good lesson, saying, *Cavete vobis à fermento Phariseorum*: "Beware in any wise (saith he) of the leaven of the Pharisees." What is this leaven of the Pharisees? Leaven is sometimes taken for corrupt living, which infecteth others by the evil example thereof, and against such corrupt living, God's preacher must cry out earnestly, and never cease till it be rooted up. In the city of Corinth one had married his step-mother, his father's wife; and he was a jolly fellow, a great rich man, an alderman of the city, and therefore they winked at, they would not meddle in the matter, they had nothing to do with it; and he was one of the head men, of such rule and authority, that they durst not, many of them.

But St. Paul hearing of the matter, writ unto them, and in God's behalf charged them to do away such abomination from among them. St. Paul would not leave them till he had excommunicated the wicked doer of such abomination. If we should now excommunicate all such wicked doers, there would be much ado in England.

Ye that are magistrates shew favour for affection to such, and will not suffer they may be rooted out or put to shame. Oh he is such a man's servant, we may not do him any shame. Oh he is a gentleman, &c. And so the thing is not now any thing looked unto. Lechery is used throughout England, and such lechery as is used in none other place of the world. And yet it is made a matter of sport, a matter of nothing, a

laughing matter, and a trifle, not to be passed on, nor to be reformed.

But beware, ye that are magistrates, their sin doth leaven you all. Therefore for God's love beware of this leaven. Well, I trust it will be one day amended. I look not to live long, and yet I trust, as old as I am, to live so long as to see lechery punished. I would wish that Moses's law were restored for punishment of lechery, and that the offenders therein might be punished according to the prescription of Moses's law. And here I will make a suit to your Highness to restore unto the church the discipline of Christ, in excommunicating such as be notable offenders; nor never devise any other way. For no man is able to devise a better way than God hath done, which is excommunication to put them from the congregation till they be confounded. Therefore restore Christ's discipline for excommunication; and that shall be a means both to pacify God's wrath and indignation against us, and also that less abomination shall be used than in times past hath been, and is at this day. I speak this of a conscience, and I mean and move it of a good-will to your grace and your realm.

Bring into the Church of England open discipline of excommunication, that open sinners may be stricken withal. Sometimes leaven is taken for corrupt doctrine: and so it is here taken in this place, when he saith, "Beware of the leaven of the Pharisees." For Christ intended to make his disciples teachers of all the world, and therefore to beware of corrupt doctrine. And that that he said to them, he saith also to us; receive no corrupt doctrine, no mingle-mangle: yet there be leaveners yet still, and mingle-manglers that have soured Christ's doctrine with the leaven of the Pharisees. Yea, and where there is any piece of leaven, they will maintain that one piece, more than all the doctrine of Christ; and about that purpose they occupy and bestow all their wits. This was the first seed.

The second seed was, *Nihil occultum, quod non revelabitur*, "There is nothing privy or hidden that shall not be revealed and opened:" it pertaineth all to one purpose; for there he taught his disciples to beware of the leaven, which was hypocrisy; declaring unto them, that hypocrisy would not be always hidden, but such as were not sincere should be

known at the last day, and all that was taught should at length be known. It hath also another meaning, for it is God's proverb: "There is nothing so privy but it shall be opened," at leastwise in the great day of reckoning; in the dreadful day of general account, in the day of revelation; then shall it be openly known whatsoever is done, be it never so privily done.

These fellows that have their fetches, and their far compasses to bring things to their purposes, work they never so privily, never so covertly, yet at the last day, their doings shall be openly revealed, *usque ad satietatem visionis*, saith the Prophet Isaiah, till all the world shall see it, to their shame and confusion that are the doers of it. As the prophet Jeremy saith, *Sicut confunditur fur qui deprehenditur*, "Even as a thief that is taken with the manner when he stealeth, so shall sinners be openly confounded, and their evil doings opened." Yea, and though it be not known in this world, yet it shall be known at the last day to their damnation. Indeed God hath verified his proverb from time to time, "Nothing is so privy the which shall not be revealed."

When Cain had killed his brother Abel, he thought he had conveyed the matter so privily and so closely that it should never have been known nor have come to light; but first, God knew it well enough, and called unto him saying, "Cain, where is thy brother Abel?" Tut, he thought he could have beguiled God too; and therefore he answered, I cannot tell; "what, quoth Cain, am I set to keep my brother? I cannot tell where he is." But at last he was confounded, and his murder brought to light; and now all the world readeth it in the bible. Joseph's brethren had sold him away, they took his motley coat and besprinkled it over and over with blood, they thought all was cock-sure, they had conveyed the matter so secretly, that they thought all the world could never have espied it. And yet out it came to their great benefit. And now it is known to us all as many as can read the bible.

David saw a fair woman wash her naked. Then he was straightway ravished, he was clean gone by, and would needs have her. He sent for her, yea he had gentlemen of his chamber about him that went for her by and by and fetched her.

And here I have another suit to your Highness. When you come to age, beware what persons ye have about you : for if ye be set on pleasure, or disposed to wantonness, ye shall have ministers enough to be furtherers and instruments of it. But David, by his wisdom and policy, thought so to have cloaked the matter, that it should never have been known. He sent for her husband Uriah, and shewed him a fair countenance, and looked merrily on him, and sent him forth to war, that he might do his pleasure with Bathsheba afterward, and he thought he had wrought wondrous privily. He thought all the matter cock-sure. But the Prophet of God, Nathan, came and laid his fault plain before his face, and who is now that knoweth it not ? Elisha's servant, Gehazi, a bribing brother, he came colourably to Naaman the Syrian : he feigned a tale of his master Elisha, as all bribers will do, and told him that his master had need of this and that, and took of Naaman certain things, and bribed it away to his own behoof secretly ; and thought that it should never have come out, but Elisha knew it well enough. The servant had his bribes that he sought, he was yet stricken with the leprosy, and so openly shamed.

Think on this, ye that are bribers, when ye go so secretly about such things, have this in your minds, when ye devise your secret fetches and conveyance, how Elisha's servant was served, and to be openly known. For God's proverb will be true, " There is nothing hidden that will not be revealed."

He that took the silver bason and ewer for a bribe, thinketh that it will never come out, but he may now know that I know it, and I know it not alone, there be more beside me that know it. Oh briber and bribery, he was never a good man that will so take bribes. Nor can I ever believe that he that is a briber shall be a good justice. It will never be merry in England, till we have the skins of such. For what needeth bribing where men do their things uprightly ; as for men that are officers and have a matter of charge in their hands ?

But now I will play St. Paul, and translate the thing on myself. I will become the king's officer for awhile. I have to lay out for the king twenty thousand pounds, or a great sum, whatsoever it be : well, when I have laid it out, and do bring in mine account, I must give three hundred marks to have my

bills warranted. If I have done truly and uprightly, what should need me to give a penny to have my bills warranted? If I have done my office truly, and do bring in a true account, wherefore should one groat be given? yea, one groat, for warranting of my bills? Smell ye nothing in this? what needeth any bribes giving, except the bills be false? No man giveth bribes for warranting of his bills, except they be false bills.

Well, such practice hath been in England, but beware; it will out one day: beware of God's proverb, "There is nothing hidden that shall not be opened:" yea, even in this world, if ye be not the children of damnation. And here now I speak to you, my masters, minters, augmentationers, receivers, surveyors, and auditors; I make a petition unto you: I beseech you all be good to the king; he hath been good to you, therefore be good to him: yea, be good to your own souls. Ye are known well enough what ye were afore ye came to your offices, and what lands ye had then, and what ye have purchased since, and what buildings ye make daily. Well, I pray you so build, that the king's workmen may be paid. They make their moan that they can get no money. The poor labourers, gun-makers, powdermen, bow-makers, arrow-makers, smiths, carpenters, soldiers, and other crafts, cry out for their dues. They be unpaid some of them three or four months; yea, some of them half a year: yea, some of them put up bills this time twelve months for their money, and cannot be paid yet. They cry out for their money, and, as the prophet saith, *Clamor operariorum ascendit ad aures meas*, "The cry of the workmen is come up to mine ears." O, for God's love let the workmen be paid, if there be money enough; or else there will whole showers of God's vengeance rain down upon your heads. Therefore, ye minters, and ye augmentationers * serve the king truly. So build and purchase that the king may have money to pay his workmen. It seemeth evil-favourably, that ye should have enough wherewith to build superfluously, and the king lack to pay his poor labourers. Well, yet I doubt not but that there be some good officers. But I will not swear for all.

* Certain officers belonging to a court set up by Henry the Eighth, for the increase of his revenues by the suppression of monasteries and religious houses. It was called the Augmentation Court. It was dissolved by Queen Mary.

I have now preached three Lents. The first time I preached restitution: "Restitution, quoth some, what should he preach of restitution? Let him preach of contrition, quoth they, and let restitution alone; we can never make restitution." Then, say I, if thou wilt not make restitution, thou shalt go to the devil for it. Now choose thee either restitution, or else endless damnation. But now there be two manner of restitutions, secret restitution, and open restitution; whether of both it be, so that restitution be made, it is all good enough. At my first preaching of restitution, one good man took remorse of conscience, and acknowledged himself to me, that he had deceived the king, and willing he was to make restitution: and so the first Lent came to my hands twenty pounds to be restored to the king's use. I was promised twenty pound more the same Lent, but it could not be made, so that it came not. Well, the next Lent came three hundred and twenty pounds more. I received it myself, and paid it to the king's council. So I was asked, what he was that thus made restitution? But should I have named him? Nay, they should as soon have this wesant of mine. Well, now this Lent came one hundred and fourscore pounds ten shillings, which I have paid and delivered this present day to the king's council: And so this man hath made a godly restitution. And so, quoth I to a certain nobleman that is one of the king's council, if every man that hath beguiled the king should make restitution after this sort, it would cough the king twenty thousand pounds, I think, quoth I. Yea, that it would, quoth the other, a whole hundred thousand pounds. Alack, alack; make restitution for God's sake, make restitution; ye will cough in hell else, that all the devils there will laugh at your coughing. There is no remedy, but restitution open or secret, or else hell.

This that I have now told you of, was a secret restitution. Some examples hath been of open restitution, and glad may he be that God was so friendly unto him, to bring him unto it in this world. I am not afraid to name him; it was Master Sherington, an honest gentleman, and one that God loveth. He openly confessed that he had deceived the king, and he made open restitution. Oh what an argument may he have against the devil, when he shall move him to desperation. God brought this out to his amendment. It is a token that he is a

chosen man of God, and one of his elected. If he be of God, he shall be brought to it, therefore for God's sake make restitution, or else remember God's proverb; "There is nothing so secret that shall not be revealed." If you do either of these two in this world, then are ye of God; if not, then for lack of restitution, ye shall have eternal damnation. Ye may do it by means, if you dare not do it yourselves; bring it to another, and so make restitution. If ye be not of God's flock, it shall be brought out to your shame, and damnation at the last day, when all evil men's sins shall be laid open before us. Yet there is one way, how all our sins may be hidden, which is repent and amend; *Recipiscentia, recipiscentia*, repenting and amending is a sure remedy, and a sure way to hide all, that it shall not come out to our shame and confusion.

Yet there was another seed that Christ was sowing in that sermon of his; and this was the seed. I say to you, my friends, "fear not him that killeth the body, but fear him that after he hath killed, hath power also to cast into hell-fire," &c. And there to put his disciples in comfort and sure hope of his help, and out of all doubt and mistrust of his assistance, he bringeth in unto them the example of the sparrows, how they are fed by God's mere providence and goodness; and also of the hairs of our heads; how that not so much as one hair falleth from our heads without him: "Fear him, saith he, that when he hath killed the body, may also cast into hell-fire." Matter for all kinds of people here, but specially for kings.

And therefore here is another suit to your Highness. "Fear not him that killeth the body." Fear not these foreign princes and foreign powers. God shall make you strong enough. Stick to God; fear God, fear not them. God hath sent you many storms in your youth, but forsake not God, and he will not forsake you. Peradventure ye shall have that shall move you, and say unto you, Oh, Sir, Oh such a one is a great man, he is a mighty prince, a king of great power, ye cannot be without his friendship, agree with him in religion, or else ye shall have him your enemy, &c. Well fear them not, but cleave to God, and he shall defend you. Do not as king Ahaz did, that was afraid of the Assyrian king, and for fear lest he should have him to his enemy, was content to forsake God, and to agree with him in religion, and worshipping of God: And anon sent to Uriah

the high priest, who was ready at once to set up the idolatry of the Assyrian king. Do not your highness so, fear not the best of them all; but fear God. The same Uriah was *capellanus ad manum*, "A chaplain at hand," an elbow chaplain. If ye will turn, ye shall have that will turn with you, yea even in their white rochets. But follow not Ahaz. Remember the hair how it falleth not without God's providence. Remember the sparrows, how they build in every house, and God provideth for them; "And ye are much more precious to me, saith Christ, than sparrows or other birds." God will defend you, that before your time cometh, ye shall not die nor miscarry.

On a time when Christ was going to Jerusalem, his disciples said unto him, "They there would have stoned thee, and wilt thou now go thither again?" What (saith he again to them,) *Nonne duodecim sunt horæ die, &c.*, "Be there not twelve hours in the day?" (saith he) God hath appointed his times, as pleaseth him, and before the time cometh that God hath appointed, they shall have no power against you. Therefore stick to God and forsake him not, but fear him, and fear not men. And beware chiefly of two affections, fear and love. Fear, as Ahaz, of whom I have told you, that for fear of the Assyrian king he changed his religion, and thereby purchased God's high indignation to him and to his realm. And love, as Dinah, Jacob's daughter, who caused a change of religion, by Sechem and Hamor, who were contented for lust of a wife to the destruction and spoiling of all the whole city.

Read the chronicles of England and France, and ye shall see what changes of religion hath come by marriages, and for marriages. Marry my daughter, and be baptized, and so forth, or else, &c. Fear them not. Remember the sparrows. And this rule should all estates and degrees of men follow; whereas now they fear men and not God. If there be a judgment between a great man, and a poor man, then must there be a corruption of justice for fear. Oh he is a great man, I dare not displease him, &c. Fie upon thee, art thou a judge, and wilt be afraid to give right judgment? Fear him not, be he never so great a man, but uprightly do true justice. Likewise some pastors go from their cure, they are afraid of the plague, they dare not come nigh any sick body, but hire others, and they go away themselves. Out upon thee: The wolf cometh upon thy flock

to devour them, and when they have most need of thee, thou runnest away from them. The soldier also that should go on warfare, he will draw back as much as he can. Oh I shall be slain! Oh such and such went, and never came home again: Such men went the last year into Norfolk, and were slain there. Thus they are afraid to go: they will labour to tarry at home. If the king command thee to go; thou art bound to go, and serving the king thou servest God. If thou serve God, he will not shorten thy days to thine hurt. Well, saith some, if they had not gone, they had lived unto this day. How knowest thou that? who made thee so privy of God's counsel? Follow thou thy vocation, and serve the king when he calleth thee. In serving him thou shalt serve God; and till thy time come, thou shalt not die.

It was marvel that Jonas escaped in such a city, what then? Yet God preserved him, so that he could not perish. Take therefore an example of Jonas, and every man follow his vocation, not fearing men, but fearing God.

Another seed that Christ was sowing in the sermon was this: *Qui confessus me fuerit hominibus confitebor et ego illum coram Patre meo*, "He that confesseth me before men, I shall also confess him before my Father." We must confess him with mouth. It was of a bishop not long ago asked as touching this: "Laws, saith he, must be obeyed, and civil ordinance I will follow outwardly, but my heart in religion is free to think as I will:" So said Friar Forest*, half a papist, yea, worse than a whole papist.

Well, another seed was, "He that sinneth against the Holy Ghost it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world nor in the world to come." What is this same sin against the Holy Ghost, an horrible sin that never shall be forgiven, neither in this world nor in the world to come? what is this sin? Final

* John Forest, an English Franciscan, who was educated at Oxford. He became confessor to queen Catherine, the first wife of Henry VIII., and defended her cause and the supremacy of the pope with such zeal, that the privy council sent him to Newgate, where he wrote a treatise, entitled, *De autoritate Ecclesie et Pontificis maximi*, in which he inveighed bitterly against the king for calling himself head of the church. The manuscript was seized, and the author being brought to trial, received judgment of death, which was executed barbarously enough in Smithfield, May 22, 1538; at which time and place, Latimer, by order of the government, preached a sermon to the people.—WOOD, *Ath. Oxon.* I. 49. BURNET, *Ref.* I. 351.

impenitency, and some say, impugning of the truth. One came to me once, that despaired, because of sin against the Holy Ghost. He was sore troubled in his conscience, that he should be damned, and that it was not possible for him to be saved, because he had sinned against the Holy Ghost. I said to him, what man, (quoth I,) comfort yourself in these words of the apostle: *Christus est propitiatio pro peccatis nostris*, "Christ is a propitiation for all our sins." And again; *Ideo me misit Pater in mundum, ut qui credit in me non pereat, sed habeat vitam æternam*, "My Father hath for this purpose sent me into the world, that he which believeth in me may not perish, but may have the life everlasting." Also, *Quaquumque hora ingemuerit peccator salvus erit*, "In what hour soever the sinner shall mourn for his sin, he shall be saved." I had scriptures enough for me, (as me thought) but say what I could say, he could say more against himself, than I could say at that time to do him good withal. Where some say that the sin against the Holy Ghost, is original sin; I alleged against that, the saying of St. Paul; *Sicut per unius delictum*, &c., and *si quis egerit penitentiam*, "If a man had done all the sins in the world, and have true repentance, with faith and hope in God's mercy, he shall be forgiven." But whatsoever I said he could still object against me, and avoid my reasons. I was fain to take another day, and did so. Let me go to my book, quoth I, and go you to your prayers, for ye are not altogether without faith. I got me to my study; I read many doctors, but none could content me, no expositor could please me, nor satisfy my mind in the matter. And it is with me as it was with a scholar of Cambridge, who being demanded of his tutor how he understood his lesson, and what it meant; I know, quoth he, what it meaneth, but I cannot tell it; I cannot express it. So I understood it well enough, but I cannot well declare it. Nevertheless I will bungle at it as well as I can.

Now to tell you by the way what sin it was that he had committed: he had fallen from the truth known; and afterward fell to mocking and scorning of it; and this sin it was that he thought to be unforgiveable. I said unto him, that it was a vehement manner of speaking in scripture; yet, quoth I, this is not spoken universally, nor it is not meant that God

doth never forgive it, but it is commonly called irremissible, unforgiveable, because that God doth seldom forgive it: But yet there is no sin so great but God may forgive it, and doth forgive it to the repentant heart, though in words it sound that it shall never be forgiven: As, *privilegium paucorum non destruit regulam universalem*, "The privilege of a few persons doth not destroy an universal rule or saying of scripture." For the scripture saith, *Omnes moriemur*, "We shall die every one of us:" yet some shall be rapt and taken alive, as St. Paul saith; for this privilege of a few, doth not hurt a generality. An irremissible sin, an unexcusable sin; yet to him that will truly repent, it is forgiveable, in Christ it may be remitted: if there be no more but one man forgiven, ye may be that same one man that shall be forgiven, *Ut abundavit delictum ibi abundavit et gratia*, "Where iniquity hath abounded, there shall grace abound." Thus by little and little this man came to a settled conscience again, and took comfort in Christ's mercy. Therefore despair not, though it be said it shall never be forgiven. Where Cain said, "My wickedness is so great that God cannot forgive it;" nay, thou liest, saith Austin to Cain, *Major est Dei misericordia, quam iniquitas tua*, "The mercy of God is greater than thine iniquity." Therefore despair not; but this one thing I say; beware of this sin that ye fall not into it; for I have known no more but this one man, that hath fallen from the truth, and hath afterward repented and come to grace again. I have known many since: God hath opened mine eyes to see a little, I have known many, I say, that knew more than I, and some whom I have honoured, that have afterwards fallen from the truth, but never one of them, this man except, that have returned to grace and to the truth again.

But yet, though God doth very seldom forgive this sin, and although it be one of the sins that God doth hate most of all others, and such as is almost never forgiven, yet it is forgiveable in the blood of Christ, if one truly repent; and lo it is universal. As there is also another scripture, *Va terræ cuius rex puer est*, "Wo be to the land, to the realm whose king is a child;" which some interpret and refer to childish conditions. But it is commonly true the other way too, when it is referred to the age and years of childhood. For where the king is

within age, they that have governance about the king, have much liberty to live voluptuously, and licentious; and not to be in fear how they govern, as they would be, if the king were of full age, and then commonly they govern not well. But yet Josiah and one or two more, though they were children, yet had their realms well governed, and reigned prosperously; and yet the saying, *Væ terra cujus rex puer est*, is nevertheless true for all that.

And this I gather of this irremissible sin against the Holy Ghost, that the scripture saith, it is never forgiven, because it is seldom forgiven: For indeed I think that there is no sin, which God doth so seldom, nor so hardly forgive, as this sin of falling away from the truth; after that a man once knoweth it. And indeed this took best place with the man that I have told you of, and best quieted his conscience.

Another seed was this: "Be not careful, saith Christ, what ye shall say, before judge and magistrates, when ye are brought afore them for my name's sake; for the Holy Ghost shall put in your minds even at the present hour, what ye shall speak."

A comfortable saying, and a goodly promise of the Holy Ghost: "That the adversaries of the truth, saith he, shall not be able to resist us." What? shall the adversaries of the truth be dumb? Nay; there be no greater talkers, nor boasters, and facers than they be. But they shall not be able to resist the truth to destroy it.

Here some will say, "What needeth universities then; and the preservation of schools? The Holy Ghost will give always what to say." Yea, but for all that we may not tempt God; we must trust in the Holy Ghost, but we must not presume on the Holy Ghost.

Here now should I speak of Universities, and for preferring of schools: but he that preached the last Sunday spake very well in it, and substantially, and like one that knew the state and condition of the universities and schools very well. But thus much I say unto you, magistrates; If ye will not maintain schools and universities, ye shall have a brutality.

Therefore now a suit again to your Highness.—So order the matter that preaching may not decay: for surely, if preaching decay, ignorance and brutishness will enter again. Nor give the preachers' livings to secular men. What should the secular

men do with the livings of preachers ? I think there be at this day ten thousand students less than were within these twenty years, and fewer preachers ; and that is the cause of rebellion. If there were good bishops, there should be no rebellion.

I am now almost come to my matter, saving one saying of Christ which was another seed ; *Date, et dabitur vobis*, " Give, and it shall be given unto you," &c. But who believeth this ? If men believed this promise, they would give more than they do ; and at leastwise they would not stick to give a little ; but nowadays men's study is set rather to take gifts, and to get of other men's goods, than to give any of their own. So all other the promises are mistrusted and unbelieved. For if the rich men did believe this promise of God, they would willingly and readily give a little to have the overplus. So where Christ saith of injuries, or offences and trespasses, *Mihi vindictam, et ego retribuam*, &c., " Leave the avenging of wrongs alone unto me, and I shall pay them home," &c. If the rebels had believed this promise they would not have done as they did. So all the promises of God are mistrusted. Noah also after the flood feared at every rain lest the world should be drowned, and destroyed again ; till God gave the rainbow. And what exercise shall we have by the rainbow ? We may learn by the rainbow, that God will be true of his promises, and will fulfil his promises. For God sent the rainbow, and four thousand years it is, and more, since this promise was made, and yet God hath been true of his promise unto this day. So that now when we see the rainbow, we may learn that God is true of his promise. And as God was true in this promise, so is he and will be in all the rest. But the covetous man doth not believe that God is true of his promise, for if he did he would not stick to give of his goods to the poor.

But as touching that I spake afore, when we see the rainbow, and see in the rainbow that that is like water, and of a watery colour, and as we may and ought not only to take thereof hold and comfort of God's promise, that he will no more destroy the world with water for sin ; but also we may take an example to fear God, who in such wise hateth sin : likewise when in the rainbow we see that it is of a fiery colour, and like unto fire ; we may gather an example of the end of the world, that except we amend, the world shall at last be consumed with

fire, for sin; and to fear the judgment of God, after which they that are damned shall be burned in hell-fire. These were the seeds that Christ was sowing, when this covetous man came unto him. And now I am come to my matter.

While Christ was thus preaching, this covetous fellow would not tarry till all the sermon was done, but interrupted the sermon, even suddenly chopping in; "Master, (quoth he,) speak to my brother, that he may divide the inheritance with me." He would not abide till the end of the sermon; but his mind was on his halfpenny, and he would needs have his matter despatched out of hand. "Master, (quoth he,) let my brother divide with me." Yet this was a good fellow; he could be contented with part, he desired not to have all together alone to himself, but could be content with a division, and to have his part of the inheritance: And what was the inheritance? *Ager*, A field. So that it was but one piece of ground, or one farm. This covetous man could be content with the half of one farm, where our men nowadays cannot be satisfied with many farms at once: one man must now have as many farms as will serve many men, or else he will not be contented nor satisfied. They will jar nowadays one with another, except they have all. "Oh," saith the wise man, "There be three things wherein my soul delighteth; '*Concordia fratrum, amor proximorum, et vir ac mulier bene sibi consentientes*,' 'the unity of brethren; the love of neighbours; and a man and wife agreeing well together.'". So that the concord of brethren, and agreeing of brethren, is a gay thing. What saith Solomon of this matter? *Frater qui adjuvatur a fratre quasi civitas firma et turris fortis*, "The brother that is holpen of his brother, is a sure and well-fenced city, and a strong tower." He is so strong, O, it is a great matter, when brethren love and hold together: but if the one go about to pull down the other, then are they weak both of them; and when one pulleth down his fellow, they must needs down both of them; there is no stay to hold them up.

Mark in the chronicles of England: Two brethren have reigned jointly together, the one on this side Humber, and the other beyond Humber, in Scotland, and all that way. And what hath come of it? So long as they have agreed well together, so long they have prospered; and when they have jarred, they have

both gone to wreck. Brethren that have so reigned here in England, have quarrelled one with another; and the younger hath not been contented with his portion, (as indeed the younger brother commonly jarreth first) but by the contention both have fared the worse. So when there is any contention between brother and brother for land, commonly they are both undone by it. And that crafty merchant, (whatever he be,) that will set brother against brother, meaneth to destroy them both. But of these two brethren, whether this man here were the elder or the younger, I cannot say; scripture telleth me not whether of these two was the younger; but a likelihood this was the younger; for once it was a plain law, that *primogenitus*, that is to say, the elder brother, had *duplicitu*; and therefore of likelihood it should be the youngest brother that found himself aggrieved, and was not content. But Christ said unto him, "Thou man, who hath made me a judge or a divider between you?" Christ answered him by a question; and mark this question of Christ, "Thou man," *Quis me constituit judicem aut divisorem super vos*: "who made me a judge," &c. It is no small matter, saith Augustine, of what intencion one asketh a question; as Christ in another place of the gospel asketh who was neighbour to the pilgrim that was wounded. "There was, saith Christ, a man that went from Jerusalem to Jericho, and fell among thieves, and they wounded him, and left him for dead. And a priest came by, that was his own countryman, and let him lie; a Levite came by, and would shew no compassion upon him: at last a Samaritan came by, and set him on his horse, and conveyed him to the city, and provided surgery for him, &c. Now who was neighbour to this wounded man?" saith Christ. *Qui fecit illi misericordiam*, (quoth the lawyer) "He that shewed mercy unto him." He that did the office of a neighbour, he was neighbour. As ye may perceive by a more familiar example of the bishop of Exeter, at Sutton in Staffordshire. Who is bishop of Exeter? Forsooth, Master Coverdale? What, do not all men know who is bishop of Exeter? What? he hath been bishop many years. Well, say I, Master Coverdale is bishop of Exeter; Master Coverdale putteth in execution the bishop's office, and he that doth the office of the bishop, he is the bishop indeed; therefore say I, Master Coverdale is bishop of Exeter.

Alack there is a thing that maketh my heart sore. I hear that Master Coverdale is poisoned. Alack, a good man, a godly preacher, an honest fatherly man, and, if it be true, it is a great pity, and a lamentable case, that he feeding them with God's word, they should feed him again with poison*.

But to the purpose of Christ's question, "Who made me a judge between you?" Here an Anabaptist will say, "Ah, Christ refused the office of a judge, *ergo* there ought to be no judges nor magistrates among christian men. If it had been a thing lawful, Christ would not have refused to do the office of a judge, and to have determined the variance between these two brethren." But Christ did thereby signify, that he was not sent for that office; but if thou wilt have a trial and a sentence of that matter according to the laws, thou must go to the temporal judge that is deputed therefore. But Christ's meaning was, that he was come for another purpose, he had another office deputed unto him, than to be a judge in temporal matters; *Ego veni vocare peccatores ad penitentiam*, "I am come, saith he, to call sinners to repentance." He was come to preach the gospel, the remission of sin, and the kingdom of God: and meant not thereby to disallow the office of temporal magistrates. Nay, if Christ had meant that there should be no magistrates, he would have bid him take all;

* Miles Coverdale was born in Yorkshire, in 1487. He was educated at Cambridge, but took his doctor's degree at Tubingen, in Germany. He was for some time an Augustine monk, and zealous in the cause of popery; but about 1530 he embraced the reformed doctrines, and soon afterwards joined Tindal in translating the bible into English: but in 1535 Coverdale published his own version in folio with a dedication to Henry VIII. This was called a special translation, because it differed from all others. In 1538 Coverdale published the New Testament in English with the Latin Vulgate. At the end of that year he was abroad, engaged upon a new edition of his bible; but most of the copies were seized and destroyed at Paris. Some of the impressions however escaped, and from them Grafton printed the "Great Bible" in 1539. In 1551 Coverdale was made bishop of Exeter, where he laboured so assiduously in promoting the reformation as raised him many enemies, which occasioned the report of his being poisoned, alluded to by his friend Latimer. But the good bishop escaped the malice of the papists in that reign, and what was more remarkable even in the next he was suffered to go abroad at the intercession of the king of Denmark. On the accession of Elizabeth he returned to England; but declined the episcopal dignity, and only accepted the living of St. Magnus, London Bridge, which he resigned in 1566. He died at the beginning of 1568.—STRYFE's *Memorials and Annals*.

but Christ meant nothing so. But the matter is, that this covetous man, this brother, took his mark amiss; for he came to a wrong man to seek redress of his matter. For Christ did not forbid him to seek his remedy at the magistrate's hand, but Christ refused to take upon him the office, that was not his calling.

For Christ had another vocation, than to be a judge between such as contended about matters of land. If our rebels had had this in their minds, they would not have been their own judges, but they would have sought the redress of their grief at the hands of the king and his magistrates under him appointed. But no marvel of their blindness and ignorance; for the bishops are out of their dioceses that should teach them this gear. But this man perchance had heard, and did think that Christ was Messias, whose reign in words soundeth a corporal and a temporal reign, which should do justice and see a redress in all matters of worldly controversy: which is a necessary office in a christian realm, and must needs be put in execution for ministering of justice. And therefore I require you (as a suitor rather than a preacher), look to your office yourself, and lay not all on your officers' backs; receive the bills of supplication yourself: I do not see you do so nowadays as ye were wont to do the last year.

¶ For God's sake look unto it, and see to the ministering of justice your own self, and let poor suitors have answer. There is a king in Christendom, and it is the king of Denmark, that sitteth openly in justice thrice in the week, and hath doors kept open for the nones. I have heard it reported of one that hath been there, and seen the proof of it many a time and oft: and the last justice that ever he saw done there, was of a priest's cause that had had his glebe land taken from him (and now here in England some go about to take away all); but this priest had had his glebe land taken from him by a great man. Well, first went out letters for this man to appear at a day: process went out for him according to the order of the law, and charged him by virtue of those letters to appear afore the king at such a day. The day came: the king sat in his hall ready to minister justice. The priest was there present. The gentleman, this lord, this great man, was called, and commanded to make his appearance according to

the writ that had been directed out for him. And the Lord came, and was there, but he appeared not. No, quoth the king, was he summoned as he should be? Had he any warning to be here? It was answered, Yea, and that he was there walking up and down in the hall; and that he knew well enough that that was his day, and also that he had already been called, but he said, he would not come before the king at that time; alleging, that he needed not as yet to make an answer, because he had had but one summoning. No, quoth the king, is he here present? Yea, forsooth, sir, said the priest. The king commanded him to be called, and to come before him: and the end was this, he made this lord, this great man, to restore unto the priest not only the glebe land which he had taken from the priest, but also the rent and profit thereof, for so long time as he had withholden it from the priest, which was eight years or thereabout. Saith he, when you can shew better evidence than the priest hath done why it ought to be your land, then he shall restore it to you again, and the profits thereof that he shall receive in the mean time; but till that day come, I charge ye that ye suffer him peaceably to enjoy that is his.

This is a noble king, and this I tell for your example, that ye may do the like. Look upon the matter yourself. Poor men put up bills every day, and never the near. Confirm your kingdom in judgment, and begin doing of your own office yourself, even now while you are young, and sit once or twice in the week in council among your lords; it shall cause things to have good success, and that matters shall not be lingered forth from day to day. It is good for every man to do his own office, and to see that well executed and discharged.

Ahaziah king in Judah, he would needs do the office of the priest, and he would needs offer incense in the sanctuary, which to do was the priest's office. But he was suddenly stricken with the leprosy for his labour, and so continued a leper all days of his life.

St. John Baptist's disciples would have had their master to take upon him that he was Christ. But what said John? *Nemo sibi assumit quicquam nisi datum fuerit ei desuper*, "No man may take any thing upon himself, except it be given unto him from above." If the Devonshire men had well con-

sidered this, they had not provoked the plagues that they have had light upon them. But unpreaching prelacy hath been the chiefest cause of all this hurly-burly and commotions. But if Christ may challenge any kind of men for taking his office upon them, he may say to the mass-mongers, Who gave you commission to offer up Christ? Who gave you authority to take mine office in hand? for it is only Christ's office to do that. It is a great matter to offer Christ; if Christ had offered his body at the last supper, then should we so do too. Who is worthy to offer up Christ? an abominable presumption. Paul saith, *Accepit panem, postquam gratias egisset fregit et dixit accipite, edite*, "He took bread, and after that he had given thanks, he brake it, and said, Take ye, eat ye," &c., and so said, *Hoc est corpus meum*, "This is my body." He gave thanks? well then; in thanksgiving there is no oblation; and when he gave thanks, it was not his body.

When I was in examination, I was asked many questions, and it was said to me, what Christ did, that should we do; a bishop gathered that upon these words, *Hoc facite in mei recordationem*, "Do this in remembrance of me:" then said he to me, How know ye that they eat it, before he said, *Hoc est corpus meum*, "This is my body?" I answered again and said, How know ye that they did not eat it? &c. So I brought unto him the place of Paul abovesaid, and that in thanksgiving is none oblation, and when he gave thanks it was not his body, for he gave thanks in the beginning of supper, before they eat any manner of thing at all, as his accustomed manner was to do. I wonder therefore that they will or dare by this text take upon them to offer Christ's body: they should rather say, *Quis me constituit oblatorem?* "Who made me an offerer?" But when Christ said, *Quis me constituit judicem aut divisorem super vos?* "Who hath made me a judge or a divider of lands among you?" Christ did refuse another man's office, an office that he was not of his father deputed unto. Christ's kingdom was a spiritual kingdom, and his office was a spiritual office, and he was a spiritual judge. And therefore when the woman taken in adultery was brought before him, he refused not to play the judge, but said, *Quis te accusat?* "Who accuseth thee?" And she said again, *Nemo Domine*, "No man, Lord." Then said he,

Nec ego te condemno, "Nor I condemn thee not." *Vade et noli amplius peccare*, "Go thy ways, and sin no more." Here he took upon him his own office, and did his office; for his office was to preach, and bid sinners amend their evil living; and not to be a temporal judge in temporal causes. And here is another occasion of a suit to your Highness, for the punishment of lechery, for lechery floweth in England like a flood.

But now to make an end in temporal causes. He said, *Quis me constituit judicem*, &c., "Who made me a judge of temporal causes among you, and of worldly matters?" Thus came this fellow in here with interrupting of Christ's sermon, and received the answer which I have rehearsed. "Thou man, thou fellow (quoth he), who hath made me a judge among you?" And he said unto all the audience, *Videte et caveate ab avaritia*, "See and beware of covetousness." Why so? *Quia non in abundantia cujusquam vita ejus est, ex his quæ possidet*, "For no man's life standeth in the abundance of the things which he possesseth." We may have things necessary, and we may have abundance of things, but the abundance doth not make us blessed. It is no good argument, *Quo plus quisque habet, tanto beatus vivit*, "The more riches that a man hath, the more happily and the more blissfully he liveth." For a certain great man, that had purchased much lands, a thousand marks by year, or I wot not what, a great portion he had; and so on the way, as he was in his journey towards London, or from London, he fell sick by the way; a disease took him, that he was constrained to lie upon it. And so being in his bed, the disease grew more and more upon him, that he was by his friends that were about him godly advised to look to himself, and to make him ready to God; for there was none other likelihood but that he must die without remedy. He cried out, What, shall I die? (quoth he); wounds, sides, heart, shall I die, and thus go from my goods? go, fetch me some physician that may save my life. Wounds and sides, shall I thus die? There lay he still in his bed like a block, with nothing but, wounds and sides, shall I die? Within a very little while he died indeed, and then lay he like a block indeed. There was black gowns, torches, tapers, and

ringing of bells; but what is become of him God knoweth, and not I.

But hereby this ye may perceive, that it is not the abundance of riches that maketh a man to live quietly and blissfully. But the quiet life is in a mediocrity; *Mediocrates optime vivunt*. They that are in a mean do live best. And there is a proverb which I read many years ago: *Dimidium plus toto*, "The half sometimes more than the whole." The mean life is the best life, and the most quiet life of all. If a man should fill himself up to the throat, he should not find ease in it, but displeasure, and with the one half he might satisfy his greedy appetite. So this great riches never maketh a man's life quiet, but rather troublous. I remember here a saying of Solomon, and his example, *Conservavi mihi argentum et aurum*, "I gathered silver and gold together, saith he; I provided me singers, and women which could play on instruments, to make men mirth and pastime. I gat me psalteries and songs of music, &c., and thus my heart rejoiced in all that I did." But what was the end of all this? *Cum convertissem me ad omnia*, &c., "When I considered, saith Solomon, all the works that my hands had wrought, &c., lo all was but vanity and vexation of mind; and nothing of any value under the sun." Therefore, leave covetousness, for believe me, if I had an enemy, the first thing that I would wish to him should be, that he might have abundance of riches; for so I am sure he should never be in quiet. But think ye there be not many that would be so hurt? But in this place of the gospel, Christ spake and declared this unquietness, and uncertainty of great riches, by a similitude and parable of a great rich man, who had much land, that brought forth all fruits plentifully; and he being in a pride of the matter, and much unquiet by reason that he had so much, said to himself: "What shall I do, because I have not room enough wherein to bestow my fruits, that have grown unto me of my lands? I will thus do, saith he, I will pull down my barns, and build greater barns; and I will say to my soul, My soul, thou hast much goods laid up in store for many years, take thine ease, eat, drink, and be merry. But God said to him, *Stulte, h c nocte animam tuam recipiunt abs te*, "Thou fool, thou fool, this night will they take thy

soul from thee again, and then whose shall those things be which thou hast provided? Even so it is with him, saith Christ, that gathereth riches unto himself, and is not rich toward God," &c. But yet the covetous man can never be content. I walked one day with a gentleman in a park, and the man regarded not my talk, but cast his head and eye this and that way, so that I perceived he gave no great ear to me, which when I saw I held my peace. At last, "Oh (quoth the gentleman), if this park were mine, I would never desire more while I lived." I answered and said, Sir, and what if ye had this park too? for there was another park even hard by. This gentleman laughed at the matter. And truly I think he was diseased with the dropsy, the more he had, the more covetous he was to have still more and more. This was a farmer that had a farm hard by it, and if he might have had this park to it, he would never have desired more. This was a farmer not altogether so covetous a man, as there be many nowadays, as for one gentleman to rake up all the farms in the country together into his hands all at once.

And here one suit more to your Highness: there lacketh one thing in this realm, that it hath need of; for God's sake make some promoters. There lack promoters, such as were in king Henry the Seventh's days, your grandfather. There lack men to promote the king's officers when they do amiss, and to promote all offenders. I think there is great need of such men of godly discretion, wisdom, and conscience, to promote transgressors, as rent-raisers, oppressors of the poor, extortioners, bribers, usurers. I hear there be usurers in England, that will take forty in the hundred; but I hear of no promoters to put them up. We read not, this covetous farmer, or landed man of the gospel, bought corn in the markets to lay it up in store, and then sell it again. But and if it please your Highness, I hear say that in England, we have landlords (nay, step-lords I might say), that are become graziers, and burghesses are become regraters, and some farmers will regrate and buy up all the corn that cometh to the markets and lay it up in store, and sell it again at a higher price, when they see their time. I heard a merchantman say, that he had travailed all the days of his life in the trade of merchandise; and had gotten three or four thousand pounds by buying and selling;

but in case he might be licensed or suffered so to do, he would get a thousand pound a year, by only buying and selling of grain here within this realm. Yea, and, as I hear say, aldermen nowadays are become colliers. They be both wood-mongers and makers of coals. I would wish he might eat nothing but coals for awhile, till he had amended it. There cannot a poor body buy a sack of coals, but it must come through their hands. But this rich man that the gospel speaketh of was a covetous man, God had given him plenty, but that made him not a good man: it is another thing that maketh a good man; God saith, *Si non audieris vocem meam*, "If thou obey not my voice," &c. And therefore worldly riches, do not declare the favour or disfavour of God. The scripture saith, "God hath ordained all things to be good; and the devil laboureth to turn all things to man's evil." God giveth men plenty of riches to exercise their faith and charity, to confirm them that be good, to draw them that be naughty, and to bring them to repentance; and the devil worketh altogether to the contrary. And it is an old proverb, the more wicked, the more fortunate. But the unquietness of this covetous rich man, declareth the unquietness of the mind, that riches bringeth with it. First, they are all in care how to get riches, and then are they in more care how to keep it still. Therefore the Apostle saith, *Quo volunt ditescere incidunt in tentationes varias*, "They that study to get great riches, do fall into many divers temptations. But the root of all evil is covetousness. What shall I do?" saith this rich man. He asked his own brainless head what he should do; he did not ask of the scripture; for if he had asked of the scripture, it would have told him, it would have said unto him, *Frange esurienti panem tuam*, &c., "Break thy bread unto the hungry." All the affection of men nowadays is in building gay and sumptuous houses, it is in setting up and pulling down, and never have they done building. But the end of all such great riches and covetousness is this: "This night, thou fool, thy soul shall be taken from thee." It is to be understood of all that rise up from little to much, as this rich man that the gospel spake of did. I do not despise riches, but I wish that men should have riches as Abraham had, and as Joseph had. A man to have riches to help his neighbour, is

godly riches. The worldly riches, is to put all his trust and confidence in his worldly riches, that he may by them live here gallantly, pleasantly and voluptuously. Is this godly riches? No, no, this is not godly riches. It is a common saying nowadays among many, "Oh he is a rich man. He is well worth five hundred pounds." He is well worth five hundred pounds that hath given fifty pounds to the poor, otherwise it is none of his. Yea, but who shall have this five hundred pounds? For whom hast thou gotten this five hundred pounds? What saith Solomon? Ecclesiastes v. *Est alia infirmitas pessima quam vidi sub sole divitiæ conservatæ in malum domini sui*, "Another evil, saith he, and another very naughty imperfection, is riches hoarded up, and kept together to the owner's own harm;" for many times such riches do perish and consume away miserably. Such a one shall sometime have a son, said he, that shall be a very beggar, and live all in extreme penury. O goodly riches, that one man shall get it, and another come to devour it. Therefore, *Videte & cavete ab avaritiâ*, "See and beware of covetousness." Believe God's words, for they will not deceive you nor lie. "Heaven and earth shall perish, but *Verbum Domini manet in æternum*, the word of the Lord abideth, and endureth for ever." O, this leavened faith, this unseasoned faith, beware of this unseasoned faith. A certain man asked me this question, Didst thou ever see a man live long that had great riches? Therefore saith the wise man, "If God send thee riches, use them." If God send thee abundance, use it according to the rule of God's word, and study to be rich in our Saviour Jesus Christ; to whom, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honour, glory, and praise, for ever and ever. *Amen.*

A
S E R M O N
OF MASTER HUGH LATIMER,
PREACHED AT STAMFORD,
The 9th Day of October, Anno 1550.

MATTHEW xxii. 21.

Reddite ergo quæ sunt Cæsaris, Cæsari; et quæ sunt Dei, Deo.

Give that that is Cæsar's to Cæsar; and that that is God's to God.

THIS doctrine is grievous, heavy, and irksome to covetous hearts, rebellious and seditious hearts. Give, give, they cannot away with it, it cannot stick in their minds, nor settle in their stomachs: they would rather be taking, scraping, and catching, than giving. But godly persons will well accept and take it, for it is to them a great pleasure, joy, and comfort. For the better understanding of this place, ye shall understand, Christ came to bring us out of bondage, and to set us at liberty: not from civil burthen, as from obeying the magistrates, from paying tax and tribute, but from a greater burthen, and a more grievous burthen, the burthen of sin; the burthen, not of the body, but of the soul; to make us free from it, and to redeem us from the curse and malediction of the law, unto the honourable state of the children of God. But as for the civil burthens, he delivered us not from them, but rather commanded us to pay them. Give, give, saith he, to Cæsar obedience, tribute, and all things due to Cæsar.

For the understanding of this text, it shall be needful to consider the circumstance going before; which thing duly considered, giveth a great light to all places of the scripture; who spake these words, to whom they were spoken, upon what occasion, and afore whom. Therefore I will take the whole fragment and shred, taken out of God's book for the gospel of this day, written in the Gospel of Matthew, the twenty-second

chapter: *Tunc abierunt Pharisei*, "Then went the Pharisees, and took a counsel." Luke hath *observantes*, marking, spying, looking, tooting, watching, like subtle, crafty, and sleighty fellows, they took a counsel, and sent to him their disciples, which should feign themselves just men, godly men, glad to learn his doctrine: and with them Herod's servants to trap him in his words: and they said to him: "Master, we know that thou art a true man, and teachest the way of God in *veritate*, and carest for no man: for thou regardest not the personage of man: Tell us therefore; what thinkest thou? Is it lawful to give Cæsar tribute-money, or no?" This was their question that they would have snared him with. In answering to this, they would have caught him by the foot. But *cognita autem malitia eorum*, Jesus knowing their malice, their wickedness, their uncharitableness, said to them, "Hypocrites, why do ye tempt me? Shew me a piece of the tribute-money. And they brought him a penny. And he said to them, Whose image is this, and the writing? They answered, Cæsar's. He said to them, Give to Cæsar, that that belongeth to Cæsar, and to God, that that is God's."

Thus ye may perceive, it was our Saviour Christ, that spake these words, and they were spoken unto the Pharisees that tempted him. But they be a doctrine unto us, that are Christ's disciples. For whose words should we delight to hear and learn, but the words and doctrine of our Saviour Christ?

And that I may at this time so declare them, as may be for God's glory, your edifying, and my discharge, I pray you all to help me with your prayers.

In the which prayer, &c., for the universal church of Christ through the whole world, &c., for the preservation of our sovereign lord king Edward the Sixth, sole supreme head under God and Christ, of the Churches of England and Ireland, &c. Secondly, for the king's most honourable council. Thirdly, I commend unto you the souls departed this life in the faith of Christ, that ye remember to give laud, praise, and thanks to Almighty God, for his great goodness and mercy shewed unto them in that great need and conflict against the devil and sin, to give them at the hour of death faith in his Son's death and passion, whereby they might conquer and overcome and get the victory. Give thanks I say for this, adding

prayers and supplications for yourselves, that it may please God to give you the like faith and grace to trust only unto the death of his dear Son, as he gave unto them. For as they be gone, so must we : and the devil will be as ready to tempt us as he was them, and our sins will light as heavy upon us as theirs did upon them ; and we are as weak and unable to resist, as were they. Pray therefore that we may have grace to die in the same faith of Christ as they did, and at the latter day be raised with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and be partakers with Christ in the kingdom of heaven: for this, and grace let us say the Lord's prayer.

“ Tunc abeuntes. “ Then went the Pharisees,” &c., Tunc, it hangeth on a text before. Christ told them a similitude that the kingdom of heaven is like to a king that made a bridal to his son, he married his son, and sent his servants out to bid his guests. Well, they would not come, although he had made great preparing and much cost for them : ambition, covetousness, and cruelty would not let them come.

Then he sent his warriors and destroyed them ; and again and again sent other servants to bid guests to his bridal, hand over head, come who would. They did his bidding, and the house was full of guests. The king now would view his guests, and finding there one not clad in marrying garments, he asked him : “ Friend, how camest thou here, not having a marriage garment ? and commanded to bind him hand and foot, and cast him into utter darkness : there was wailing and grinding of teeth : For many be called and few be chosen.” Now Christ expoundeth this : The kingdom of heaven is preaching of the gospel. This marriage is the joining of Christ and his Church, which was begun by Christ here in earth, and shall continue to the end of the world. The bidders of his guests are preachers, but here are so many lets and hinderances : Covetousness is a let, ambition is a let, cruelty is the greatest let. For they beat his servants, brake their heads, yea murdered them which bad them to this bridal. With this the king was angry, and sent his men of war to destroy those unthankful people. Was he not angry with covetousness, and with ambition ? Yes he is angry with covetous men, with ambitious men ; but most of all with cruelty. This is an anger above common anger, when men be not only unthankful, but

also add cruelty, to persecute the preachers that come to call us to this marriage.

This toucheth God so nigh, that he saith, *Qui vos audit, me audit*, "He that heareth you, heareth me." This cruelty the king would not leave unpunished, but sent forth his men of war. They are called his men of war, his men, for wars come at his commandment. Titus and Vespasian were sent of God to punish those covetous Jews, ambitious Jews, cruel Jews, that would not credit Christ, nor believe the preaching of salvation. Now in war what part soever get the victory, that is God's part, that is God's host. Nabuchadonoser was an evil man, a wicked man, yet was he sent of God to punish the stubborn and covetous Jews for their ambition and cruelty, and forsaking God's most holy word; and he is called in scripture, "God's servant." It is no good argument; He hath the victory, *ergo* he is a good man. But this is a good argument; He hath the victory, *ergo* God was on his side, and by him punished the contrary party.

The preachers called good and bad; they can do no more but call, God is he that must bring in, God must open the hearts, as it is in the Acts of the Apostles: when Paul preached to the women, there was a silk-woman, *cujus cor Deus aperuit*, whose heart God opened. None could open it but God. Paul could but only preach, God must work, God must do the thing inwardly. But good and bad came. Therefore the preaching is likened to a fisher's net that taketh good fish and bad, and draweth all to the shore. In the whole multitude that profess the gospel, all be not good, all cannot away with the mortifying of their flesh, they will with good will bear the name of Christians, of gospellers; but to do the deeds they grudge, they repine, they cannot away with it. Among the apostles all were not honest, nay, one was a devil: so among so great a number of gospellers, some are card-gospellers, some are dice-gospellers, some pot-gospellers; all are not good, all seek not amendment of life.

Then cometh the king to see his guests, and findeth one not having the marriage garment, and saith to him; "Friend, how camest thou hither, and hast not the marriage garment?" Faith is the marriage garment, not a feigned faith without good living, but faith that worketh by love. He was blamed

because he professed one thing, and was indeed another. Why did he not blame the preachers? There was no fault in them, they did their duties; they had no further commandment but to call them to the marriage; the garment he should have provided himself. Therefore he quarrelleth not with the preachers. "What doth this fellow here? Why suffered ye him to enter," &c. For their commission extended no further but only to call him. Many are grieved that there is so little fruit of their preaching. And when as they are asked; Why do you not preach, having so great gifts given you of God? "I would preach," say they, "but I see so little fruit, so little amendment of life, that it maketh me weary." A naughty answer, a very naughty answer. Thou art troubled with that God gave thee no charge of, and leavest undone that thou art charged with. God commandeth thee to preach; and *si non locutus fueris*; if thou speak not, if thou warn not the wicked, that they turn, and amend, they shall perish in their iniquities; *sanguinem autem ejus de manu tua requiram*. "His blood will I require at thy hand." This text nippeth, this pincheth, this toucheth the quick. He shall die in his wickedness, but I will require his blood at thy hand. Hearken well to this, mark it well, ye curates, "I will ask his blood at thy hand." If you do not your office, if ye teach not the people, and warn them not, you shall be damned for it. If you do your office, you are discharged, *Tuam animam tuam liberasti*; Warn them therefore to leave their wickedness, their covetousness, their ambition, their cruelty, unmercifulness, &c., and thou hast saved thine own soul. For there was no quarrel with the preachers, but he was cast in prison; "where was weeping and wailing, and grinding of teeth:" these were his delicacies. *Multi sunt vocati*, "Many are called but few are chosen." To this parable now joineth this gospel. *Tunc Pharisei abeuntes*, "Then went the Pharisees out." The Pharisees were a sect of religion among the Jews, most exquisite, perfect, holy, and learned, and were reputed most godly men, even such as in holiness excelled all other, as our monks were of late among us, and be yet in other places. They were in God's bosom, even at heaven-gates, in the sight of the world; but inwardly superstitious, feigned, hollow-hearted, dissemblers. Now at this time I know none more like them than the hypo-

critical hollow-hearted papista. The name is changed, but the thing remaineth. Therefore they may well be called by the name that keep the thing. These were enemies to Christ and his doctrine. They would be ordered by old wont, customs, forefathers; and to maintain their traditions, set aside the commandments of God, refused Christ and his word.

St. Luke hath *OBSERVANTES*, observants; that is, watchers, tooters, spies, much like the Observant Friars*, the barefoot friars that were here; which indeed were the bishop of Rome's spies, watching in every country, what was said or done against him. He had it by and by, by one or other of his spies, they were his men altogether; his posts to work against the regality. In the court, in the noblemen's houses, at every merchant's house, those observants, were spying, tooting, and looking, watching, and catching, what they might hear or see against the see of Rome. Take heed of these observants. To understand the word *OBSERVANTES*, mark what the poet saith in his comedy, *Observe Davum*†; take heed, beware and mark *Davum*, for they will be stirring in every town, in every gentleman's house, yea at their very tables: Well, be wise, beware of them.

"They took a counsel;" some goodly thing, some weighty matter, I am sure, that these holy fathers consulted upon. It must needs be for the commonwealth, and the profit of many, that these holy fathers came together for. It was to snare or trap him in his words. This was their device, this was their counsel. To this end they gathered such a company of holy fathers. A council, a council, *Bonum est concilium*, said one: Yea marry, quoth another, *sed bonorum*. "A council is good; yea, sir, if it be of good men." For else what is a council, if it be wicked, of wicked men? If they say, this was done by a council, determined in a council; what is it the better, if the council be wicked? The Nicene council was gathered of a great number of bishops and learned men, yet had not one man been there, they had determined contrary to God's word. They were minded and earnestly bent to make a decree, that no priest

* A branch of the order of the Franciscan or Grey Friars, so called, because they bound themselves to a literal and strict observation of the rules of their founder. Some of this order, in greater humility and mortification, went barefoot. In 1534, the Observants, for their clamorous opposition to the divorce and other proceedings, were suppressed in England.

† Terence.

should marry ; but one old man, and unmarried himself, withstood that act, and turned the council's mind, so that they meddled not with that decree. And why ? more credence is to be given to one man having the holy word of God for him, than to ten thousand without the word. If it agree with God's word, it is to be received ; if it agree not, it is not to be received ; though a council, yea, though an angel from heaven had determined it. Truth it is, that Christ granteth to a congregation gathered in his name, to be amongst them, yea, though it be but two or three. There is as much granted to two or three, as to ten thousand, so they come in Christ's name. *Ubi duo vel tres congregati sunt in nomine meo, ibi sum in medio eorum*, "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them." *In nomine meo*, in my name much wickedness is done. *In nomine Domini* ; When they come together seeking their own private lust, pleasures, and ambitious desires, it is not *in nomine Domini*, "in the name of the Lord." But to seek God's glory, Christ's glory, Christ's true religion, that is, *in nomine Christi*, "in the name of Christ ;" and then they are to be heard. But what was these men's council ? *Ut illaquearent eum in sermone*. To snare or entangle him in his words, tooters, and watchers to catch him in his word, that they might enforce somewhat against him. *Non est concilium adversus Dominum*. These were wily spies, sleighty children, children of the world, and craftily they handled their matters. *Miserunt discipulos suos cum Herodianis*. They would not go themselves, lest they might have been known, but he knew not their disciples as they thought. And they went not alone, but had with them Herod's soldiers, Herod's favourers. This Herod was an Idumean, and was appointed by the Romans to govern the Jews, and to gather the tribute money. Therefore he was hated among the Jews, and so were those that favoured the Romans' part, and in disdain they were called Herodians. Now was the time come, that the holy patriarch prophesied, that the sceptre and kingdom was removed, and Christ was born. This they should have marked, and received his doctrine. But they went about to destroy him, and therefore they brought the Herodians with them. Here now is an agreement in wickedness

between the Pharisees and the Herodians; against the truth, against Christ, against God's word they agree together, whereas indeed neither loved other, but hated each other as a toad. So, many nowadays of our Pharisees, Papists, in destroying the truth they agree wondrous well, whereas in private matters they hate one another as a toad.

Here come me now these holy fathers from their council, and send their disciples with the Herodians: mark their behaviour, and mark Christ's behaviour. They come lowting and with low courtesy, as though they would creep into his bosom: as for Herod's men, they meddle not, but stand by to hear the tale as witnesses, and if he should speak any thing amiss be ready to lay hands upon him. They would fain rid him and destroy him; but they would turn the envy of the deed upon Herod, so that they would be seen faultless. It had been more meet for them to have counselled how to amend their faults, and to have come to Christ to learn his doctrine, than to study maliciously to trap him and to destroy him. What said they? *Magister, scimus quod verax es, &c.*, "Master, we know thou art a true man, and teachest the way of God truly." Master, we know that thou art Tom Truth, and thou tellest the very truth, and sparest for no man. Thou art plain Tom Truth. Goodly words, but out of a cankered stomach and malicious heart. Smiling speakers creep into a man's bosom, they love and all to love him; they favour his word, and call him master, and yet would gladly see him hanged. These are indeed hypocrites, one in heart, and another in mouth. "We know that thou art a true man, *Et viam Dei in veritate doces!* Yea, this is God's way, taught truly! There is God's way, and man's way. Many teach men's way, but that should not be; we should learn *Viam Dei*, God's way, and that truly without mixture, temperature, blanching, powdering. Many teach God's way, and shall preach a very good and godly sermon, but at the last they will have a blanch'd almond, one little piece of popery patched in, to powder their matter with, for their own lucre and glory. They make a mingling of the way of God and man's way together, a mangle-mangle, as men serve pigs in my country. Christ did not so: he taught the way of God truly without mixture, powdering, or blanching. These be the properties of all true preachers, that

these confess to be in Christ. It was true every word that they spake: Christ is our master appointed of God, he was true, and taught God's way, not man's way; truly, not blanching it with man's doctrine. So should we preachers be true men, preachers of God's way, truly, truly, without regard of person; that is, for no man's pleasure corrupting the word, or mingle-mangle the word with man's invention and traditions.

Here may patrons of benefices learn upon what manner of a man they should bestow their benefice. Upon a true man, a teacher. He may not be to learn, and a scholar, when he should teach others; but one learned; able to teach, able and well willing to discharge his cure. But what do you, patrons? Sell your benefices, or give them to your servants for their service, for keeping of hounds or hawks, for making of your gardens. These patrons regard no souls, neither their own nor other mens'. What care they for souls, so they have money, though they perish, though they go to the devil? Whereas indeed the office of a patron is to have a care, a zeal, a vigilant eye, for souls' health, and to provide for his churches, that he is patron of, that they might be taught in God's word. Truly, many nowadays, strive to be patrons of benefices, and go to the law who should be patron. And what strive they for, think ye? Even which of them shall go to the devil first. For they regard not soul health, nor the office of preaching, the office of salvation; whereas indeed therefore are they patrons to look to it, and to see it be provided for. God of his goodness and almighty power, might ordain other ways and means of salvation; but this office of preaching is it that God hath ordained, as St. Paul saith; *Cum non cognoverit mundus per sapientiam Deum, placuit Deo per stultitiam prædicationis salvos facere credentes*, "Whereas the world by his wisdom knew not God, it pleased God by foolish preaching to save," "those that believe," *credentes*, "by foolishness of preaching," *per stultitiam prædicationis*, or foolish preaching, it maketh no matter. Not that it was foolish indeed, but that the wise men of the world did so esteem and take the preaching of the gospel, whereas indeed it is most godly wisdom: and the preaching office is the office of salvation, and the only means that God hath appointed to salvation. *Credentes*, Those that believe be saved by this holy office of preaching. I would

wish it were better looked unto and provided for, and that patrons and bishops should see more diligently to it, than hath been done afore time. I would ask no more diligence to this office of salvation, than men are wont to bestow upon their worldly pleasures, and lucre, or commodities. Nay, would they but bestow half the labour and pains, and some little part of the expenses, it were well.

To consider what hath been plucked from abbeyes, colleges, and chantries, it is marvel no more to be bestowed upon this holy office of salvation. It may well be said by us, that the Lord complaineth by his prophet, *Domus mea deserta vos festinatis unus quisque in domum suam*, "My house ye have deserted, and ye run every one to his own house." What is Christ's house, but Christian souls? but who maketh any provision for them? every man scrapeth and getteth together for this bodily house, but the soul health is neglected. Schools are not maintained; scholars have not exhibition, the preaching office decayeth: men provide land and riches for their children, but this most necessary office, they for the most part neglect. Very few there be that help poor scholars, that set their children to school to learn the word of God; and to make a provision for the age to come. This notwithstanding is the only way to salvation: God will not devise any new way, as far as I perceive: but would have us to use this way ordained already. This preaching way we ought to use, and not to look for any new way: this office of salvation we ought to maintain, and not look for any other. My request is, that ye would bestow as much to the maintenance of this necessary office of salvation, as ye were wont to bestow in times past upon Romish trifles, and things of man's traditions. Neither do I now speak for myself and my convent as the begging friars were wont to do. I have enough, I thank God, and I need not to beg. I would every preacher were as well provided as myself through this realm, as indeed I think them as well worthy as myself. I wish, I say, ye would bestow as much upon this necessary office of salvation, as in times past ye bestowed in pilgrimage, in images, in gilding, painting, in masses, diriges*, trentals,

* It should be Dirges, from the Teutonic *Dyrke*, to howl and lament. Here the meaning is the prayers said for the dead among the Roman Catholics, accompanied with mournful lamentations, and usually sung at funerals.

chantries*, and such like vain things of the Romish Pharisees, and papists inventing. Ye would do that without calling; and to this will you not be ready when ye be called. If it be no better in time to come than hitherto looked unto, then England will at the last bewail it. Christ knew what a charge hangeth upon this necessary office of preaching, the office of salvation, and therefore most earnestly applied it himself. And when he chose his twelve apostles to send them forth unto this office, he first prayed all the night. He being God almighty with the Father, might have given all gifts fit for this office, but to teach us, he would first pray all night. Here is good matter for bishops and patrons to look upon, and not to regard so little whom they give their benefices unto, or whom they admit to cure the souls they have charge of. A notable example: Christ prayed all night, ere he would send them forth, ere he would put them in this preaching office, this most necessary office of salvation. For he saw that they had need of great zeal to God, and to soul health, that should take upon them to keep souls; and a bold courage and spirit, that should rebuke the world, of their sin and wickedness.

Many will choose now such a curate for their souls, as they may call fool; rather than one that shall rebuke their covetousness, ambition, unmercifulness, uncharitableness; that shall be sober, discreet, apt to reprove, and resist the gainsayers with the word of God.

These be the properties of every good preacher, to be a true man, to teach, not dreams, nor inventions of men, but *Viam Dei in veritate*, "The way of God truly: and not to regard the personage of man." Not to creep into his bosom, to claw his back; to say to the wicked he doth well; for filthy lucre's sake. Ah, these flatterers, no greater mischief in the commonwealth, than these flatterers. But who would have discerned this, but our Saviour Jesus Christ? He spied them out, and knew all their malicious hearts, their uncharitable hearts, their dissembling hearts, and said, *Quid me tentatis, hypocritæ?*

Hypocrites, hypocrites, hypocrites, one in heart, another in mouth; fair in pretence, but full of mischief, and malicious

* A Chantry was a little chapel, or particular altar, endowed with lands or other revenues, for the maintenance of one or more priests, daily to sing mass, and perform divine service for the health, safety, and good estate of the souls of the founders, and such others as they appointed

hatred within ; he saw what was within. Then have at ye, ye hypocrites : they put forth their question ; *Licet censum dare Cæsari, an non ?* “ Is it lawful to give tribute to Cæsar, or not ? ”

A perilous question to answer to. This was the fruit of their counsel, and this was the snare laid for him ; what should he do now ? Hold his peace ? That had been a slander to his doctrine. They would have said ; “ Lo, how ignorant he is in the law, that hath no answer to this simple and plain question.” If he affirm, and bid pay the tribute, he shall incur the hatred of the people, and seem to speak in favour of the Romans. If he would have denied it ; then had they that they sought. The Herodians were ready to lay hands upon him, to have him to Bocardo*, to prison with him, a traitor that speaketh against Cæsar ; away with this seditious fellow.

O Lord, what peril is it to have to do with these hypocrites ? Who could have escaped this snare but Christ only, which is the wisdom of the Father, and knew all their maliciousness and crafty sleights ? And as he then by his wisdom overcame them, so now doubtless he giveth wisdom to all his, to spy out and beware of their subtle crafts. For such trains, traps, snares, and subtleties, as these Pharisees laid for Christ, such have our pharisaical papists laid for Christ’s preachers. But he mercifully ever fulfilled his promise ; *Dabo os et sapientiam, cui non possunt resistere omnes adversarii vestri*, “ I will, saith Christ, give mouth and wisdom, which all your adversaries shall not be able to resist.” They shall not be tongue-tied, they have their answer, yea, so wise that their adversaries shall not be able to resist. They may well oppress it here in this world with power, but they cannot be able to overcome it with arguments of truth ; no, all the pack of adversaries, with all their subtleties, snares, and gins. They may rail upon it, as in many places lewd fellows do against priests’ marriages ; “ that dame, his wife, his whore, &c.” But they cannot deny it by any scripture, but that the marriage of priests is as good and godly, as the marriage of any other man. “ For wedlock is honourable among all men, and the wedded bed undefiled. And to avoid fornication, let every man have his own wife.” Well, let them

* An Italian word, signifying a close place, a duncheon, or prison, and at that time the name of the common prison at Oxford.

THE
RESIDUE OF THE GOSPEL,

DECLARED AT STAMFORD, IN THE AFTERNOON,

BY MASTER HUGH LATIMER.

MATTHEW xxii. 21.

Reddite Cæsari quæ sunt Cæsaris, et quæ sunt Dei, Deo.

Yield to Cæsar that belongeth to Cæsar, and to God, that belongeth to God.

YE may perceive by that we have said, who spake these words, and upon what occasion they were spoken. Our Saviour Christ spake them to the tempting Pharisees, to the crafty and subtle hollow-hearted Pharisees, willing them to know their duty by their own confession, and to give to Cæsar his due, and to God his due. Our Saviour Christ spake them. If he spake them, we ought to regard them. Regard them I say, and make much of them, for though they were then spoken to them, yet in them they were spoken to all the world. I use to make a rehearsal of that I spake before, but because the time is short, I will omit it. The service must be done, and the day goeth fast away. Therefore I will to my matter, and leave the rehearsal.

These words be words of great importance, and would well be considered: for he that doth this, receiveth great benefits by it, but he that doth it not, incurreth great damage and danger. The occasion was a counsel taken among these holy fathers to snare Christ: a good and charitable deed; yet were they holy men, holy fathers, full of charity up to the head and ears. This they learned in their council, and this now they set on broach. But Christ now causeth them to make answer to their own question, as he did also a little before. When he was come up into Jerusalem, and had driven the buyers and

sellers, in the temple. The arch. Pharisees, provincials*, and Abbots-Pharisees, came stoutly to him as he was preaching in the temple, and said to him, *Qua autoritate ista facis? aut quis dedit tibi istam auctoritatem?* "By what authority dost thou these things? Who hath given thee this authority? We have the rule of the people of God, we have given thee no such authority."

A wondrous thing, Christ had testimony of his Father; "This is my beloved Son, hear him." John had borne him witness, saying, "Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world." His works and miracles were testimonies that his doctrine was of God. Well, all this will not serve: He must have license of these holy fathers, or else all is nothing worth. Christ answered not directly to their question, but asked them another question, and made them give answer against themselves, and as it were with one wedge driveth out another: "The baptism of John, was it of God, or of man?" Was John sent of God, had he his authority of God or of man? Here he driveth them to confess his doctrine to be of God. For John, whom they could not deny to have been sent from God, bare witness that his doctrine was true. If they had confessed this, he would have inferred, Why believe ye him not? If they should have said, John was not of God, then would all the people have been against them; yea, in a hurly-burly have stoned them. This they considered within themselves, and yet their malicious hearts would not bear it to confess the truth: nay, rather, like wise gentlemen, they answered, "We know not, we cannot tell."

These Arch-Pharisees thought nothing might be done, or taught, without their license, nor otherwise but as they pleased to interpret. They were like our religion and clergy, that thought nothing might be taught but as they pleased. They would pay no tribute, tax, nor custom. They had their immunities, privileges, and grants, from the Roman bishop. And to maintain this they alleged many scriptures, as thus, *Nolite tan-*

* A provincial was a superior or chief governor of all the religious houses of the same order in a province. To him belonged the visitation, good government, redress of grievances, reformation, correction, &c., of them. He was appointed by the pope.

gere Christos meos, which is, "Touch not mine anointed or consecrated people." Which words the Lord spake by the Israelites in Egypt, warning king Pharaoh to leave and cease from persecuting the Israelites; and it maketh as much for our clergy's immunity and proveth it as well, as if a man alleged, *Quem terra pontus*, to prove that an ape hath a tail. Well, they answered, "Cæsar's;" they confessed it was Cæsar's money, and Cæsar's image and writing upon it. Here Christ compelled them to make answer unto their own question; and if envy should arise, to take it themselves; for they confessed it to be Cæsar's. Then said he, "Give to Cæsar that which is Cæsar's, and to God that is due to God." This answer of Christ I would have you all to learn: Give to your Cæsar, to your king, to our most noble king Edward, our Cæsar, our king and magistrate appointed and given to us of God, give to him that which is due to him. This is a commandment of God, as are these; "Thou shalt not murder. Thou shalt not steal, nor bear false witness against thy neighbours." And as thou art bound upon peril of thy soul to obey the other; so upon peril of thy soul thou art bound to obey and keep this. Look well upon it, for it is upon peril of thy soul. *Date*, give, give, a heavy word to a covetous heart, to a rebellious heart; they would not hear *reddite*, or *date*, pay, or give; but take, catch, keep fast. We are all bound to live in obedience unto our king, under his just and righteous laws and commandments. Christ came indeed to deliver us from burthens and bondage, but that was not from civil and politic laws and obedience. He came to deliver us from the greatest bondage that can be, from sin and damnation, The heaviest burthen that can be, is sin; and in comparison of it, all other burthens are but light and easy matters to bear. Therefore Christ came to deliver us from that; and gave his body to be torn upon the cross for that. Neither could any work, or law, or sacrifice redeem us from that, but Christ only.

I never preached in Lincolnshire afore, nor came here afore, save once when I went to take orders at Lincoln, which was a good while ago; therefore I cannot say much of Lincolnshire, for I know it not: but I dare say, if Lincolnshire be as other places that I know, this text condemneth a great many of Lin-

colnshire, and driveth them down to hell for breaking of this commandment ; “ Give to Cæsar that which is due to Cæsar, and to God that which is due to God.”

The office of a magistrate is grounded upon God’s word, and is plainly described of St. Paul, writing unto the Romans, where he sheweth that all souls, that is to say, all men, ought to obey the magistrates, for they are ordained of God ; and to resist them, is to resist against God.

“ For he is God’s minister, ordained to punish the wicked, and maintain the good.” Wherefore we ought to pay to him tribute, custom, taxes, and other things that he requireth upon us, as Christ saith here: *Reddite*, give to Cæsar. How much we should give, he defineth not, but leaveth it to Cæsar’s officers to determine, and to his council to appoint. Christ was not the emperor’s treasurer, therefore he meddled not with that point, but left it to the treasurer to define and determine. He went about another vocation, to preach unto the people their duty, and to obey their princes, kings, emperors, and magistrates ; and to bid them give that the king requireth of them ; not to appoint a king what he shall require of them. It is meet for every man to keep his own vocation, and diligently walk in it, and with faithfulness to study to be occupied in that God hath called him unto, and not to be busy in that God hath not called him unto. Therefore, saith Christ, “ Give to Cæsar,” but he appointeth not how much, for that should his treasurer know, and should warn him of it when he hath enough, that the people be not oppressed with unnecessary burthens, nor that the king’s treasures be to seek when they should be occupied. The king must have his treasures aforehand, what chance soever come suddenly. It is no reason when the king should occupy his treasure in maintenance of a commonwealth, in defence of a country, in maintaining of his wars, that then his money should be in thy purse to seek, and ungathered. Nay, he must have it in a readiness, at hand, that it be not to seek, And he must have as much as is necessary for him ; for so much is due to a king as is necessary, and so much may he require by the law of God, and take of his commons, as is necessary. And that must not thou, nor I, that are subjects, appoint, but the king himself must appoint it, his council must appoint it : we must give it, we must pay it, for it is due to

the king, and upon peril of thy soul thou must pay it. And as he that taketh my tippet or my cloak doth me wrong, and is a thief; so he that doth not pay to the king that is his due, without fraud or guile, doth the king wrong, and is in peril of his soul for so doing. Well, mark it well now, and see whether this text be a nipping text for covetous men, or no; "Give to Cæsar that is due to Cæsar."

When the parliament, the high court of this realm, is gathered together, and there it is determined that every man shall pay a fifteenth part of his goods to the king; then commissions come forth, and he that in sight of men, in his cattle, corn, sheep, and other goods is worth an hundred marks, or an hundred pound, will set himself at ten pound; he will be worth no more to the king, but after ten pound: tell me now whether this be theft or no? His cattle, corn, sheep, in every man's eyes, shall be worth two hundred pound, besides other things, as money and plate; and he will marry his daughter, and give with her four or five hundred marks, and yet at the valuation, he will be a twenty pound man; doth he give to Cæsar that which is due to Cæsar? Doth he not rather rob the king of his bound duty and debt, that he owed to the king? Yes, it is very theft, and thou mightest with as good conscience take my cloak or my tippet from me, as so unjustly take, or withhold from the king, that which the parliament hath given unto the king; it is thy bounden duty to pay him truly that which is granted; for it is due debt, and upon peril of thy soul thou art bound to obey it. Yea, I will say more; if the king should require of thee an unjust request, yet art thou bound to pay it, and not to resist and rebel against the king. The king indeed is in peril of his soul, for asking of an unjust request, and God will in his due time reckon with him for it; but thou must obey thy king, and not take upon thee to judge him: God is the king's judge, and doubtless will grievously punish him, if he do any thing unrighteously. Therefore pray thou for thy king, and pay him his duty, and disobey him not. And know this, that whensoever there is any unjust exaction laid upon thee, it is a plague and punishment for thy sin, as all other plagues are; as are hunger, dearth, pestilence, and such other. We marvel we are plagued as we be, and I think verily this unjust and unfaithful dealing with our princes,

is one great cause of our plague: look therefore every man upon his conscience. Ye shall not be judged by worldly policy at the latter day, but by God's word: *Sermo quem locutus sum vobis, ipse judicabit vos in novissimo die*, "The word that I have spoken to you, that shall judge you at the latter day." Look well now every man upon his conscience, and see whether he have done this commandment of God: Give to your king that which is due to him, and he that findeth himself guilty, let him amend in time to come. This is hard gear, and sore gear, thou wilt say: Give, give; I have wife and children, and great charge: well I shall tell thee, it minisheth not thy stock one farthing at the year's end. Hearken what God saith: *Si audieritis verba mea*, "If you will hear my words, saith God, and keep that I command thee, I will bless thee, and," *Si non audieritis*, "If ye will not hear my words, and do my commandments, thou shalt be cursed," &c.

What is blessing? Not wagging of the fingers, as our bishops were wont: but it is, I will favour thee, and increase thy goods, thy corn, thy cattle, thy ox, thy sheep; and in all thy business, thou shalt prosper and go forward. And what is the curse, but to be out of God's favour? I will impoverish thee; thy corn, thy cattle, thy ox, thy sheep, shall not prosper, what thou takest in hand, it shall not go forward. This was not taught in times past; men had pilgrimages, images, masses, trentals, &c.

But I would have you muse of these two points: cursed, if thou hear not God's word commanding thee to pay thy duty to the king; and blessed, if thou hear it and keep it. I would have you to muse of these two things. That it shall not minish thy stock: Shew me one man in all England that is the poorer for paying the king his duty, for being a true dealing man, a good alms-man, &c. Many have come to poverty by dicing, carding, riot, whoredom, and such like; but never no man by truth, mercy, alms, right dealing with the king. In the cardinal's* time men were put to their oaths, to swear what they were worth. It was a sore thing, and a thing I would wish not to be followed. O Lord, what perjury was in England by that swearing? I think this realm fareth the worse yet for that perjury; for doubtless, many a one willingly and wittingly for-

* In the administration of Cardinal Wolsey.

sware themselves at that time. It is a dear time, thou wilt say, and men have much ado to live; therefore it is good policy to set myself much less than I am: well that is thy worldly policy, and with it thou runnest into the curse of God for breaking his word and commandment; "Give to Cæsar that which is due to Cæsar."

I will tell thee a good policy to keep thy stock, and to maintain thine estate: not a policy of the world, but of God's word, and it is this; *Quærite primum regnum Dei et iustitiam ejus, et hæc omnia adjicientur vobis*, "Seek first the kingdom of God, and the righteousness of it, and all things shall be plentifully given to you." Dost thou not believe this to be true? Is Christ a hollow man, an untrue man, a dissembler? The Pharisees make him a true man, and we make him a false harlot*. He is a true man, and his words and promise are true. Nay, we be false, hollow-hearted, and therefore justly punished. For if we would credit his words, it should without doubt, be given us abundantly upon heaps; yea, more than we could desire.

When we pray for things unto almighty God, what ask we? do we ask forthwith at the first chop our necessities? Nay, Christ taught us first to pray; "Our Father, which art in heaven; hallowed be thy name; Thy kingdom come; Thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven," &c. First, we pray these petitions for faith, hope, and charity; that God's honour may in all things be set out among us; and then we pray after for bodily things. But we now leave these petitions, and would be in *panem nostrum*, "our daily bread" at the first dash, we would have our daily bread at the first chop; and so we have that, we force little of the other. We will not say in words, that we think God false, but in deeds we plainly affirm it; for we trust him not, neither believe his promise when he biddeth us, Give, give; I will bless ye, I will make good my word. Nay, nay, we will scrape and scrawl, and catch and pull to us all that we may get. *Alii dividunt sua et ditiores fiunt, alii rapiunt non sua et semper in egestate sunt*, "Some men, saith Solomon, divide their own goods; they pay the king his

* This word in old English was indifferently applied either to vile men or female prostitutes.

duty, every man his own, give alms, and yet are more rich, they have enough and enough. Others rob other men, scratch and scrape all that they may come by, never content, never enough, heap to heap, and yet are they alway beggars."

Qui benedicit impignabitur, "He that blesseth shall be fat and wealthy:" He that blesseth, not with wagging his fingers, but helping the poor people, he shall be blessed and ever have enough. God will bless him, God will increase him. And indeed so ought men to consider their gifts and goodness to be given, *ut illorum copia, aliorum succurrat inopiæ*, that their abundance might succour the necessity, poverty, and misery of their poor neighbours, and not to waste it, consume it in riot and excess; but in deeds of mercy, in deeds of charity, and pity upon the poor. *Qui miseretur pauperis, generatur Domino*, "He that hath mercy upon the poor, he lendeth upon usury unto the Lord." This is a good usury, to make God thy debtor. Many lend upon worldly usury, which is surely a very wicked thing, and God forbiddeth it. But this usury God commandeth, and promiseth to supply the lack of it in thy coffers. He will be debtor, he will be paymaster. Thou shalt not find thy stock diminished at the year's end by keeping God's commandment, but rather blessed and increased. "Give therefore unto the king that is due unto the king; *et quæ sunt Dei Deo*, and give to God that which is God's." What is God's? that I give at God's bidding. The tithes, oblations, first-born of beasts, and sacrifice cattle, all which God appointed unto the Jews to the maintenance of their church-ministers, of the clergy, poor widows, fatherless children, maintenance of poor scholars. This was the cause that God assigned the Jews to pay their tithes, and until the coming of Christ they were due by God's law, and might by the law given to Moses be claimed. But now that law is at an end, neither can they be claimed any more by that law. Notwithstanding, now in the time of the new testament, the princes be bound to provide a sufficient living for the ministers, as St. Paul saith; *Qui evangelium prædicant de evangelio vivant*. They that preach the gospel; this is the ministry of salvation, preaching of the gospel, and unto such ministers, ye be bound to give a sufficient living: *Communicate catechizanti in omnibus bonis*, "Give

part to him that teacheth you, in all good things :” give him part of all your goods ; see he have sufficient living. But who shall appoint him a sufficient living ; himself ? Nay. Who then ? you ? Nay, neither. The king must appoint him sufficiently to live upon ; for I think verily there are a great many, which if the minister should have no living but at their appointment, he should not have clouting leather to piece his shoes with ; no, not clouting leather to his shoes. The king therefore must appoint the ministers their livings by his law, and that living that the king appointeth they must claim, and you must pay it to them truly : for it is their due, and it is theft to withdraw it or hold it from them : For God commandeth you to obey your king’s laws, and by the same laws the king giveth the minister his tithes, and other duties ; therefore upon the peril of thy soul, thou art bound to obey thy king, and to pay thy curate that tithe that thou art commanded.

But some will say, our curate is naught, an asshead, a dodi-pole, a lack-latin, and can do nothing : Shall I pay him my tithes, that doth us no good nor none will do ? Yea, I say, thou must pay him his due ; and if he be such a one, complain to the bishop. We have complained to the ordinary, and he is as negligent as he. Complain to the council. Sir, so have we done, but no remedy can be had. Well, I can tell where thou shalt complain ; complain to God, he will surely hear thee, he will remedy it. Christ saw the people lying, *Tanquam oves non habentes pastores*, “ As sheep having no shepherd.” They had Bishops, Scribes, and Pharisees ; curates in name, a great many ; yet were they “ as sheep having no shepherd :” What is that to say ? they had no true teachers, they had no preachers of the law of God to them. What remedy taught Christ for it, withdraw their livings ? Nay. Make tumults ? Nay : but *Rogate Dominum messis*, “ Pray the Lord of the harvest.” Pray, pray. Prayer is the remedy that never faileth ; when all other faileth, this never faileth. Therefore pray unto God, and he will either turn his heart, and make him better, or remove him from thee, and send a better in his place ; or else take him away altogether.

So will the Lord do with any other oppressors of the poor ;

either he will turn their hearts, and make them better, or else remove them, and take them quite away. Therefore let men be patient and suffer, and pray unto God for deliverance from their troubles, and not think to remedy it themselves; but pray to God, and he will remedy it. Pray, I say, and take patience, and you shall see the Lord will in due time remedy it.

There be many that turn this text clean contrary; for they yield to Cæsar that which is God's, and to God that which is Cæsar's. They had money enough to build monasteries, chantries, masses, year-days*, trentals, to gild images, &c. And all this they did, say they, to honour God with.

They would worship God with copes, torches, tapers, candles, and an hundred things more, that God never required at their hands. God requireth the hearts to fear him, and love him, and studiously to walk before him; but this inward service we will not give him. Nay, we give Cæsar our heart, and God our outward service, as all such do as have received the Interim†. God should possess our whole hearts, and we should most studiously walk every man in his vocation, according to the word of God, according to his commandments, obeying our king, and succouring the poor and needy, as he hath commanded us. And this is God's true service, and the thing that belongeth to God.

If this be true, what is become of our forefathers?

I answer, it is a vain and unprofitable question, either it needs not, or it boots not. Whatsoever they did, let us do well, let us keep God's bidding, God's commandments, and then are we safe.

* The same as anniversary days; these were days, on the return of which, every year, people used to pray for the souls of their departed friends; and on which it was customary for the priest to say an Obit, or service for the dead person.

† When the pope transferred the council from Trent to Bologna, the emperor Charles V. was so much offended, that he ordered three divines, Julius Flærgius, bishop of Naumbourg, Michael Sidonius, and Islebius Agricola, to draw up a form of religion to settle the differences between the papists and protestants of Germany. These persons accordingly composed a book which went by the name of the Interim, because it was intended to last as a standard of faith, till a general council should be called in Germany. The book being thus prepared, a diet was convened at Augsburgh, where it was received; but at Rome and Bologna it was condemned; while most of the reformed communion opposed it as popery in disguise. Thus the design of the emperor was frustrated by both parties, and a severe persecution in Germany was the consequence.

When one dieth, we must have bells ringing, singing, and much ado. But to what purpose? Those that die in the favour of God are well, those that die out of the favour of God, this can do them no good; *Ubi ceciderit lignum, ibi erat*, "Where the tree falleth, there it shall remain." Study therefore to live in the favour and grace of God, in repentance, in amendment of life; and then diest thou well. Further, to the question of our forefathers, God knoweth his elect, and diligently watcheth and keepeth them, so that all things serve to their salvation. The nature of fire is to burn all that is laid in it; yet God kept the three young men in Babylon, that they burnt not. And Moses saw a bush on fire, but it burnt not. So false doctrine as fire burneth, it corrupteth. But God kept his elect, that they were not corrupt with it, but always put their trust in one everliving God, through the death of Jesus Christ our Lord. In Elias's time idolatry and superstition reigned; so that Elias said, *Domine, altaria sua subverterunt*, "Lord, they have destroyed thine altars, and slain thy prophets and preachers, and I am left alone." But the Lord answered him; "I have reserved to myself seven thousand men that have not bowed their knees to Baal:" so God, I trust, reserved our forefathers, in so perilous times, more graciously than we can think.

Let us thank God then for the gracious light of his word sent unto us, and pray for our gracious king and his council, that set it forth unto us. And as for our forefathers, seeing we have no charge given us of God, leave them, and commend them unto God's mercy, who disposed better for them than we can wish.

But some will say now; what need we preachers then? God can save his elect without preachers. A goodly reason. God can save my life without meat and drink, need I none therefore? God can save me from burning, if I were in the fire, shall I run into it therefore? No, no; I must keep the way that God hath ordained, and use the ordinary means that God hath assigned, and not seek new ways. This office of preaching is the only ordinary way that God hath appointed to save us all by. Let us maintain this, for I know none other, neither think I God will appoint or devise any other: "Pay therefore to Cæsar, that which is due to Cæsar." And this said

Christ by an heathen king, a paynim*; how much more ought we to pay to our Cæsar, our liege, lord, and king, a christian king, and so godly and virtuous a learned king? And "Pay to God that is due to God:" tithes and all duties belonging to the ministers and preachers of this office of salvation, give to them without dissembling, without withdrawing or abridging of their duties. Take heed of lying, and setting thyself at less than thou art. Mark the example of Ananias and Saphira his wife; they died suddenly for their lying and dissimulation in the like matter. Well, this was Christ's doctrine. This was his answer; "Give to Cæsar that which is Cæsar's, and to God that which is God's." *Et non potuerunt reprehendere verbum ejus coram populo*, "And they could not find fault in his word before the people," it was so just, so consonant with scriptures and with reason. Yet afterward they falsified his word before Pilate, accusing him, *Hunc deprehendimus evertentem gentem, et vetantem tributa dari Cæsari*, "We found this fellow turning away the people's hearts, and forbidding the tribute to be given to Cæsar." These be perilous people to meddle withal, malicious and uncharitable; that care not what slander they accuse a man of. Deny! they are ready to accuse; affirm! they will yet falsify his word. Then it is best to say nothing at all. Nay, not so. Let us speak God's truth, and live according to his commandment, he shall deliver us from the hands of our adversaries, and make us safe in his heavenly kingdom. Let us, I say, do God's bidding and commandment; give to our king our duties: truly we shall have never the less, it shall not minish our stock, we shall rather have the more. For God is true of his promise: let us maintain the necessary office of salvation, pay to the ministers the things appointed them; maintain scholars and schools, help the poor widows and fatherless children, study to do good while we have time in this present life; so shall the Lord in this life bless us, and after this life give us eternal life, through Jesus Christ; to whom, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all laud and honour. *Amen*.

Marvel not that I use at the sermon's end to make prayer, for I do it not of singularity: but when I am at home, and in

* The old English word for Heathens, Pagans, or Gentiles.

the country where I go, sometime when the poor people come and ask at me, I appose then myself, or cause my servant to appose them of the Lord's prayer; and they answer some, I can say my Latin *Pater-noster*; some, I can say the old *Pater-noster*, but not the new *. Therefore that all that cannot say it may learn, I use before the sermon and after, to say it. Wherefore now I beseech you let us say it together, "Our Father, which art," &c.

* To appose, from the Latin word *appono*, meaning to put questions. Ingulphus, abbot of Croyland, who was educated in the old school of Westminster, says, that he was often examined in this manner by Editha, queen of Edward the Confessor. Stow translates the passage thus in his Annals:

"I have seen her, saith Ingulphus, that when being yet but a boy, I came to see my father dwelling in the king's court. And often coming from school, when I met her, she would appose me touching my learning and lesson, and falling from grammar to logick, wherein she had some knowledge, would subtilly conclude an argument with me, and by a hand-maiden give three or four pieces of money, and send me into the place where I should receive some victuals, and so be dismissed."

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